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ATHENAEUS

LEARNED BANQUETERS

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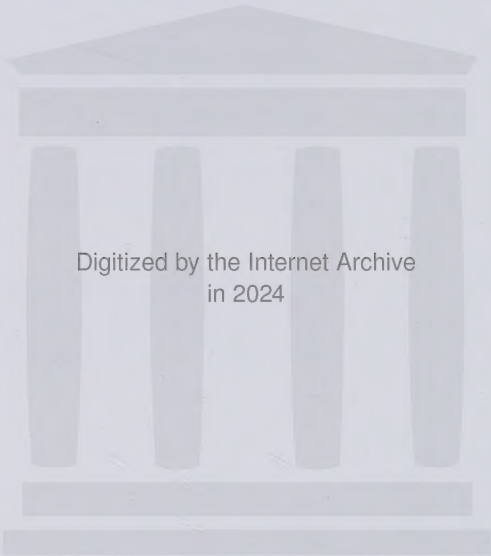
Edited and Translated by

S. DOUGLAS OLSON

In *The Learned Banqueters,* Athenaeus describes a series of dinner parties at which the guests quote extensively from Greek literature. The work (which dates to the very end of the second century CE) is amusing reading and of extraordinary value as a treasury of quotations from works now lost. Athenaeus also preserves a wide range of information about different cuisines and foodstuffs; the music and entertainments that ornamented banquets; and the intellectual talk that was the heart of Greek conviviality. S. Douglas Olson has undertaken to produce a complete new edition of the work, replacing the previous Loeb Athenaeus (published under the title *The Deipnosophists*).

S. Douglas Olson is Distinguished McKnight University Professor of Classical and Near Eastern Studies, University of Minnesota.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ATHENAEUS

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EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

S. DOUGLAS OLSON

PA
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2006
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CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
ABBREVIATIONS	ix
THE CHARACTERS	xi
Book XII	2
Book XIII	222
INDEX	433

PREFACE

For a general introduction to Athenaeus and *The Learned Banqueters*, and to my citation conventions, see the beginning of Volumes I and III. Like all previous editors, I have again tacitly added a handful of section-divisions accidentally omitted from Casaubon's text.

Thanks are due my research assistant Timothy Beck and my undergraduate students Joseph McDonald, William Blessing, Cameron Ferguson, and Debbie Sugarbaker for their many hours of reference-checking, proofreading, formatting assistance, and the like. Much of the work for this volume and those to follow was completed at the National Humanities Center, where I held a fellowship during the 2008–2009 academic year. Volume VI is dedicated to my beloved friends there, Nicolas Bock and Julia Schewski-Bock—and of course to Uriel as well.

ABBREVIATIONS

Berve	H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* ii *Prosopographie* (Munich, 1926)
Billows	R. A. Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1990)
Bradford	A. S. Bradford, *A Prosopography of Lacedaimonians from the Death of Alexander the Great, 323 b.c., to the Sack of Sparta by Alaric, a.d. 396* (Vestigia 27: Munich, 1977)
FGE	D. L. Page (ed.), *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1981)
FGrH	F. Jacoby (ed.), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (Leiden, 1923–69)
FHG	C. and T. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (5 vols.: Paris, 1841–70)
HE	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1965)
O'Connor	J. B. O'Connor, *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece together with a Prosopographia Histrionum Graecorum* (Chicago, 1908)

PAA	J. Traill (ed.), *Persons of Ancient Athens* (Toronto, 1994–)
PMG	D. L. Page (ed.), *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962)
Poralla	P. Poralla, *A Prosopography of Lacedaimonians from the Earliest Times to the Death of Alexander the Great (X–323 B.C.)*[2] (revised by A. S. Bradford: Chicago, 1985)
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (eds.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Texte und Kommentar, Band 11: Berlin and New York, 1983)
SSR	G. Giannantoni, *Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae* (4 vols.; n.p., 1990)
Stephanis	I. E. Stephanis, Διονυσιακοὶ Τεχνίται (Herakleion, 1988)
SVF	J. van Arnim (ed.), *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1921, 1903)
TrGF	B. Snell *et al.* (eds.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1971–2004)

THE CHARACTERS

ATHENAEUS, the narrator; also a guest at the dinner party
TIMOCRATES, Athenaeus' interlocutor

AEMILIANUS MAURUS, grammarian (e.g. 3.126b)
ALCEIDES OF ALEXANDRIA, musician (1.1f; 4.174b)
AMOEBEUS, citharode (14.622d–e)
ARRIAN, grammarian (3.113a)
CYNULCUS, Cynic philosopher whose given name is Theodorus (e.g. 1.1d; 3.97c)
DAPHNUS OF EPHESUS, physician (e.g. 1.1e; 2.51a)
DEMOCRITUS OF NICOMEDIA, philosopher (1.1e; 3.83c)
DIONYSOCLES, physician (3.96d, 116d)
GALEN OF PERGAMUM, physician (e.g. 1.1e–f, 26c)
LARENSIUS, Roman official and also host of the party (e.g. 1.2b–3c; 2.50f)
LEONIDAS OF ELIS, grammarian (1.1d; 3.96d)
MAGNUS (e.g. 3.74c)
MASURIUS, jurist, poet, musician (e.g. 1.1c; 14.623e)
MYRTILUS OF THESSALY, grammarian (e.g. 3.83a)
PALAMEDES THE ELEATIC, lexicographer (9.379a)

PHILADELPHUS OF PTOLEMAIS, philosopher (1.1d)*
PLUTARCH OF ALEXANDRIA, grammarian (e.g. 1.1c–d; 3.83b)
PONTIANUS OF NICOMEDIA, philosopher (1.1d; 3.109b)
RUFINUS OF NICAEA, physician (1.1f)*
ULPIAN OF TYRE, grammarian and also symposiarch (e.g. 1.1d–e; 2.49a)
VARUS, grammarian (3.118d)
ZOILUS, grammarian (e.g. 1.1d; 7.277c)

* Neither Philadelphus nor Rufinus is said to speak anywhere in the preserved text of *The Learned Banqueters*, and most likely some of the anonymous speeches in 1.2a–3.73e (represented in the Epitome manuscripts only) belong to them.

THE LEARNED BANQUETERS

IB

510 Ἄνθρωπος εἶναί μοι Κυρηναῖος δοκεῖς, κατὰ τὸν Ἀλέξιδος Τυνδάρεων, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες·

> κἀκεῖ γὰρ ἄν τις ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἕνα καλῇ,
> πάρεισιν ὀκτωκαίδεκ' ἄλλοι καὶ δέκα
> ἅρματα συνωρίδες ‹τε› πεντεκαίδεκα·
> τούτοις δὲ δεῖ σε τἀπιτήδει' ἐμβαλεῖν,
> ὥστ' ἦν κράτιστον μηδὲ καλέσαι μηδένα.

b κἀμοὶ δ' ἦν κράτιστον σιωπᾶν καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ τοσούτοις | προειρημένοις ἕτερα προστιθέναι· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πάνυ λιπαρῶς ἡμᾶς ἀπαιτεῖς καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τρυφῇ διαβοήτων γενομένων λόγον καὶ τῆς τούτων ἡδυπαθείας.

Ἡ γὰρ ἀπόλαυσις δήπου μετ' ἐπιθυμίας πρῶτον, ἔπειτα μεθ' ἡδονῆς. καίτοι Σοφοκλῆς γ' ὁ ποιητής, τῶν ἀπολαυστικῶν γε εἷς ὤν, ἵνα μὴ κατηγορῇ τοῦ

---

[1] Referring both to the city of Cyrene (as in the quotation from Alexis that follows) and to the Cyrenaic philosophical school (*SSR* IV A 71), which held that pleasure was the supreme good; cf. 12.544a–5a.

[2] The opening words of the Book are clearly an unmetrical

BOOK XII

You remind me of a Cyrenean,[1] to quote Alexis' *Tyndareus* (fr. 241),[2] my friend Timocrates;

> because if someone there invites one person to
> dinner,
> 18 others show up, along with 10
> chariots and 15 racing-chariots.
> And you have to take care of them all—
> so that you'd be better off not inviting anyone!

So too in my own case, it might be better to keep quiet and not add to the extensive remarks I offered earlier. But since you ask me again and again about our discussion of individuals who were notorious for their addiction to luxury and about their dissipation, (I will give you what you want).[3]

Enjoyment, of course, requires first that we desire something, and then that we get pleasure from it. In fact the poet Sophocles, who liked to enjoy life, tried to avoid

version of the first line of the fragment, although Kassel–Austin decline to recognize them as such.

[3] The narrator Athenaeus never refers in Book 12 to the individual guests at Larensius' dinner party (although cf. 12.541a n.), but instead speaks throughout in his own voice; note esp. 12.550f–1a, and cf. 12.554f n.

γήρως, εἰς σωφροσύνην ἔθετο τὴν ἀσθένειαν αὐτοῦ τὴν περὶ τὰς τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἀπολαύσεις, φήσας ἀσμένως ἀπηλλάχθαι αὐτῶν ὥσπερ τινὸς δεσπότου. ἐγὼ δέ φημι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πάριδος κρίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν | c παλαιοτέρων πεποιῆσθαι ἡδονῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὖσαν σύγκρισιν· προκριθείσης γοῦν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἡδονή, πάντα συνεταράχθη. καί μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν Ξενοφῶν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὴν Ἀρετὴν μῦθον ἐντεῦθεν πεπλακέναι. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα·

> οὐδέ τις ἦν κείνοισιν Ἄρης θεὸς οὐδὲ Κυδοιμὸς
> οὐδὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ Κρόνος οὐδὲ Ποσειδῶν,
> ἀλλὰ Κύπρις βασίλεια < . . . >
> τὴν οἵ γ' εὐσεβέεσσιν ἀγάλμασιν ἱλάσκοντο
> γραπτοῖς τε ζῴοισι μύροισί τε δαιδαλεόδμοις
> σμύρνης τ' ἀκρήτου θυσίαις λιβάνου τε θυώδους,
> ξανθῶν τε σπονδὰς μελίτων ῥίπτοντες ἐς οὖδας.

καὶ Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Κιθαριστῇ περί τινος μουσικευομένου λέγων φησί· ||

511 φιλόμουσον εἶναι <κἀγαπᾶν> αὐτὸν πάνυ
ἀκούσματ' εἰς τρυφήν τε παιδεύεσθ' ἀεί.

---

[4] The anecdote (= S. test. 80e) is drawn from Pl. *R.* 329b–c.

[5] Specifically the Trojan War.

[6] According to Xenophon's Socrates, the story was actually told by Prodicus, who claimed that Heracles was once offered the choice between a woman named Kakia ("Badness"), who offered him easy pleasures of all sorts, and another named Aretê ("Vir-

finding fault with old age by attributing his inability to get an erection to his self-control, claiming to be as happy to have escaped sexual pleasure as he would have been to escape slavery.[4] I myself maintain that the Judgment of Paris was represented by the poets from the more distant past as a decision between pleasure and virtue; when he chose Aphrodite, who represents pleasure, therefore, utter disaster[5] ensued. I also believe that our noble Xenophon (*Mem.* 2.1.21–34) invented his story about Heracles and Virtue to make the same point.[6] Because, to quote Empedocles (31 B 128.1–7 D–K):[7]

> And they had no god named Ares or Battle-Din,
> and no King Zeus, or Cronus, or Poseidon;
> instead Cypris[8] was their queen . . .
> They sought her favor with pious dedications
> and with painted figurines and elaborately scented perfumes
> and sacrifices of pure myrrh and fragrant frankincense,
> and by pouring libations of golden honey on the ground.

So too Menander in *The Cithara-Player* (*Kith.* fr. 5 Sandbach), describing a musician, says:

> that he loves music, and really enjoys
> live entertainment, and is always training for a life of luxury.

tue"), who offered him hard work that would be followed by glory; he chose Aretê. Cf. 12.544d.

[7] The reference is to individuals living in the Golden Age.

[8] Aphrodite.

Καίτοι τινές φασι κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ζῷα δεδουλῶσθαι ταύτῃ, ὥσπερ οὐχὶ καὶ δειλίας καὶ φόβου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθημάτων κοινῶς μὲν ἐν ἅπασιν ὄντων, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς λογισμῷ χρωμένοις ἀποδοκιμαζομένων. τὸ οὖν ἡδονὰς διώκειν προπετῶς λύπας ἐστὶ θηρεύειν. διόπερ Ὅμηρος ἐπονείδιστον βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τῶν θεῶν
b φησι τοὺς μεγίστους οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς σφετέρας | ὠφελεῖσθαι δυνάμεως, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα βλάπτεσθαι παρενεχθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῆς. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἀγρυπνῶν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐφρόντιζεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Τρώων, ταῦτ' ἀπώλεσεν μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς κρατηθείς. καὶ ὁ Ἄρης ἁλικιμώτατος ὢν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀσθενεστάτου Ἡφαίστου συνεποδίσθη καὶ ὤφλεν αἰσχύνην καὶ ζημίαν ἐκδοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἔρωσιν ἀλογίστοις. φησὶ γοῦν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ὅτ' ἦλθον αὐτὸν θεασόμενοι δεδεμένον·

οὐκ ἀρετᾷ κακὰ ἔργα· κιχάνει τοι βραδὺς ὠκύν· |
c ὡς καὶ νῦν Ἥφαιστος ἐὼν βραδὺς εἷλεν Ἄρηα,
ὠκύτατόν περ ἐόντα θεῶν οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσι,
χωλὸς ἐών, τέχνῃσι· τὸ καὶ ζωάγρι'[1] ὀφέλλει.

οὐδεὶς δὲ λέγει τὸν Ἀριστείδου βίον ἡδύν, ἀλλὰ τὸν

[1] The traditional text of Homer has μοιχάγρι'.

---

[9] A reference to the seduction of Zeus by Hera and its consequences at *Il.* 14.292–360.

[10] A reference to events in Demodocus' Love Song of Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.266–366).

Some authorities nonetheless maintain that pleasure is a natural phenomenon, on the ground that all living creatures are subject to its power—as if cowardice, fear, and the other emotions were not also universally experienced, but capable of being rejected by individuals who rely on reason! To pursue pleasure headlong is accordingly to look for trouble. This is why Homer, who wants to represent pleasure as utterly reprehensible, claims that even the greatest gods get no assistance from their own power, but instead suffer enormous injuries when it leads them astray. For all the plans Zeus made to help the Trojans as he lay awake at night came to nothing during the day, when he surrendered to pleasure.[9] And even though Ares was the most powerful of them, he was tied up and embarrassed and forced to pay a fine by Hephaestus, who was the weakest, because he gave in to irrational desires.[10] He says to the gods, at any rate, when they come to see him in chains (*Od.* 8.329–32):[11]

> Wicked deeds do not prevail; the tortoise assuredly
> catches the hare!
> So too in the present case, although Hephaestus is
> slow, he captured Ares,
> despite the fact that Ares is the swiftest of the gods
> who inhabit Olympus,
> with his devices, even though he is lame. So Ares
> owes him a ransom.[12]

But no one describes Aristides'[13] life as pleasant; instead,

[11] The speaker is not in fact Ares, but an unnamed male god.
[12] The traditional text of Homer has "an adulterer's fine."
[13] Referring to Aristides "the Just" (see 11.506b n.).

Σμινδυρίδου τοῦ Συβαρίτου καὶ τὸν Σαρδαναπάλλου. καίτοι κατά γε τὴν δόξαν, φησὶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς Θεόφραστος, οὐχ ὁμοίως λαμπρός ἐστιν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐτρύφησεν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι. οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, εἰ ἔτυχεν,
d τὸν Ἀνάνιος οὕτως ἀοράτου κατὰ | δόξαν ὄντος, οὐδὲ τὸν τῶν ἡμιθέων τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίας, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὸν νῦν. καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκατάσκευος καὶ καθάπερ ἀνεύρετος ἦν, οὔτ' ἐπιμιξίας οὔσης οὔτε τῶν τεχνῶν διηκριβωμένων, ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐξηρτυμένος πρὸς ῥᾳστώνην καὶ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας διαγωγάς.

Πλάτων δ' ἐν τῷ Φιλήβῳ φησίν· ἡδονὴ μὲν γὰρ ἁπάντων ἀλαζονίστατον. ὡς δὲ λόγος, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια, αἳ δὴ μέγισται
e δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, καὶ | τὸ ἐπιορκεῖν συγγνώμην εἴληφεν παρὰ θεῶν, ὥσπερ καθάπερ παίδων τῶν ἡδονῶν <νοῦν> οὐδὲ τὸν ὀλίγιστον[2] κεκτημένων. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀγδόῳ τῆς Πολιτείας ὁ αὐτὸς Πλάτων πρότερος ὑπ-έδειξε τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων θρυλούμενον, ὅτι τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μέν εἰσι φυσικαὶ <καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι, αἱ δὲ φυσικαὶ>[3] μέν, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖαι δέ, αἱ δὲ οὔτε φυσικαὶ οὔτε ἀναγκαῖαι, γράφων οὕτως· "ἆρ' οὖν οὐχὶ ἡ τοῦ

[2] ἡδονῶν οὐδὲ τὸν λογισμὸν ACE

[3] add. Kaibel, ex lemmate A ὅτι τῶν ἡδονῶν αἱ μὲν φυσικαὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖαι, αἱ δὲ κτλ.

they talk this way about the lives of Smindyrides of Sybaris[14] and Sardanapallus.[15] And yet as far as his reputation goes, says Theophrastus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 551 Fortenbaugh), Aristides is more distinguished; but he did not live in the sort of luxury they did. Nor (does anyone describe) the life of King Agesilaus of Sparta[16] (as pleasant), but instead, perhaps, that of Ananius,[17] obscure though he was; nor the life of the demigods at Troy, but emphatically much more so our life today. And this makes good sense; because life in heroic times lacked any accoutrements, as it were, and nothing had been invented then, since there had been no contact between peoples, and no crafts had been refined, whereas life nowadays offers everything a person needs to have an easy existence and enjoy himself and have a good time generally.

Plato says in his *Philebus* (65c–d): Pleasure is more full of hot air than anything else in the world. As they say, where sexual pleasure—which is thought to be the greatest pleasure there is—is concerned, the gods forgive oath-breaking, since our pleasures resemble children and have no sense whatsoever. And in Book VIII (559a–c) of his *Republic* the same Plato is the first to refer to what the Epicureans are always saying, which is that some desires are physical and matters of necessity; others are physical, but not matters of necessity; and others are neither physical nor matters of necessity. He writes as follows: "So, then,

[14] See 6.273b–d with n.; 12.541b–c.

[15] See 8.335e–6b; 12.528f–9d with n.

[16] Presumably Agesilaus II (Poralla #9; reigned 400–360/59 BCE); cf. 12.550e with n. [17] The 6th-century BCE iambic poet quoted at e.g. 3.78f; 7.282b–c.

φαγεῖν μέχρις ὑγιείας καὶ εὐεξίας καὶ αὐτοῦ σίτου καὶ
f ὄψου ἀναγκαῖος ἂν εἴη; ἡ μέν γέ | που τοῦ σίτου κατ᾽
ἀμφότερα ἀναγκαία, ᾗ τε ὠφέλιμος ᾗ τε παῦσαι
ζῶντας δυνατή;" "ναί." "ἡ δὲ ὄψου, εἴ πῄ τινα ὠφέλειαν
πρὸς εὐεξίαν παρέχεται;" "πάνυ μὲν οὖν." "τί δαί; ἡ
πέρα τούτων καὶ ἀλλοίων ἐδεσμάτων ἢ τοιούτων ἐπι-
θυμία, δυνατὴ δὲ κολαζομένη ἐκ νέων πολλῶν ἀπαλ-
512 λάττεσθαι, καὶ βλαβερὰ μὲν σώματι, || βλαβερὰ δὲ
ψυχῇ πρός τε φρόνησιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, ἆρά
γε ὀρθῶς ‹οὐκ›[4] ἀναγκαία ἂν καλοῖτο;" "ὀρθότατα μὲν
οὖν."

Ἡρακλείδης δ᾽ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς τάδε
λέγει· οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς πάντων ἀγαθῶν
ὄντες κύριοι καὶ πάντων εἰληφότες πεῖραν τὴν ἡδονὴν
προκρίνουσιν, μεγαλοψυχοτέρας ποιούσης τῆς ἡδο-
νῆς τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις. ἅπαντες γοῦν οἱ τὴν
ἡδονὴν τιμῶντες καὶ τρυφᾶν προῃρημένοι μεγαλόψυ-
b χοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς εἰσιν, ὡς Πέρσαι καὶ | Μῆδοι·
μάλιστα γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἡδονὴν οὗτοι
καὶ τὸ τρυφᾶν τιμῶσιν, ἀνδρειότατοι καὶ μεγαλοψυχό-
τατοι τῶν βαρβάρων ὄντες. ἐστὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἥδεσθαι
καὶ τὸ τρυφᾶν ἐλευθέρων, ἀνίησι γὰρ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ
αὔξει, τὸ δὲ πονεῖν δούλων καὶ ταπεινῶν· διὸ καὶ
συστέλλονται οὗτοι καὶ τὰς φύσεις. καὶ ἡ Ἀθηναίων
πόλις, ἕως ἐτρύφα, μεγίστη τε ἦν καὶ μεγαλοψυχο-
τάτους ἔτρεφεν ἄνδρας. ἁλουργῆ μὲν γὰρ ἠμπίσχοντο

[4] οὐκ Plato: καὶ A

mustn't it be the case that the desire to eat enough of the main dish itself and of the side-dish to be healthy and comfortable is a matter of necessity? So that the desire for food is a matter of necessity on both counts, in that it is both good for us and can bring our lives to an end?" "Yes." "And the desire for side-dishes as well, if it somehow helps make us comfortable?" "Absolutely." "What about this? The desire that goes beyond these objects, and that is for other sorts of foods than these, and which can be expelled from most young people if repressed, and damages one's body as well as the mind's ability to think clearly and control itself—would it, then, be properly described as not a matter of necessity?" "That is certainly correct."

Heracleides of Pontus says the following in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 55 Wehrli = fr. 39 Schütrumpf): Tyrants and kings, who have access to and experience of goods of every kind, rank pleasure ahead of everything else, since pleasure expands the human character. Everyone who honors pleasure and prefers to live luxuriously is accordingly bold and magnificent. The Persians and the Medes, for example, show more respect than anyone else in the world for pleasure and luxury, but are the bravest and boldest of the barbarians. For enjoying oneself and living in luxury is a mark of free men, because this relaxes and augments one's spirit; whereas working hard is a mark of slaves and the lower classes, which is why they keep themselves under control. The city of Athens was at its most powerful and produced the boldest men when it was known for its luxury. Because they dressed in sea-purple robes, beneath which they wore

ἱμάτια, ποικίλους δ' ὑπέδυνον χιτῶνας, κορύμβους δ'
c ἀναδούμενοι | τῶν τριχῶν χρυσοῦς τέττιγας περὶ τὸ
μέτωπον καὶ τὰς κόρρας ἐφόρουν· ὀκλαδίας τε αὐτοῖς
δίφρους ἔφερον οἱ παῖδες, ἵνα μὴ καθίζοιεν ὡς ἔτυχεν.
καὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ[5] τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι νικήσαντες μά-
χην καὶ μόνοι τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἁπάσης δύναμιν χειρω-
σάμενοι. καὶ οἱ φρονιμώτατοι δέ, φησίν, καὶ μεγίστην
δόξαν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἔχοντες μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὴν ἡδονὴν
εἶναι νομίζουσιν, Σιμωνίδης μὲν οὑτωσὶ λέγων·

τίς γὰρ ἀδονᾶς ἄτερ θνα-
τῶν βίος ποθεινὸς ἢ ποί-
α τυραννίς; |
d τᾶσδ' ἄτερ οὐδὲ θεῶν ζηλωτὸς αἰών.

Πίνδαρος παραινῶν Ἱέρωνι τῷ Συρακοσίων ἄρχοντι·

μηδ' ἀμαύρου (φησί) τέρψιν ἐν βίῳ· πολύ τοι
φέριστον ἀνδρὶ τερπνὸς αἰών.

καὶ Ὅμηρος δὲ τὴν εὐφροσύνην καὶ τὸ εὐφραίνεσθαι
τέλος φησὶν εἶναι χαριέστερον, ὅταν δαιτυμόνες μὲν
ἀοιδοῦ ἀκουάζωνται, παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι. τοὺς
δὲ θεούς φησιν εἶναι ῥεῖα ζώοντας—τὸ δὲ ῥεῖα ἐστὶν

[5] οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι οἱ A: οἱ τοιοῦτοι del. Kaibel: τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ Wilamowitz

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[18] For cicada-brooches as typical of archaic Athens, see Th. 1.6.3; Ar. *Eq.* 1331; *Nu.* 984; and cf. 12.525f. Ael. *VH* 4.22 is very similar to this passage.

embroidered tunics, and they tied their hair up in top-knots and wore gold cicadas around their foreheads and their temples;[18] and their slaves carried folding stools for them, so that they would not have to sit down anywhere at random. And it was men like these who won the battle at Marathon and singlehandedly defeated the entire Persian army! So too the most thoughtful individuals, he says, who have the best reputation for wisdom, regard pleasure as the greatest good. Thus Simonides (*PMG* 584) says the following:

> For without pleasure, what mortal
> lifestyle or what tyranny
> is desirable?
> Without this, not even the life of the gods is worth having.

Pindar (fr. 126), offering advice to Hieron, the ruler of Syracuse,[19] says:

> Do not let pleasure fade from your lifestyle; a pleasant life
> is far and away the best possession a man can have.

Homer as well claims that joy and having a good time is the height of happiness, when feasters are listening to a bard, and full tables are set beside them.[20] And he says (e.g. *Il.* 6.138) that the gods "live easily"—"easily" means

[19] Hieron was tyrant of Syracuse 478–466 BCE.

[20] A prose paraphrase of *Od.* 9.5–8 (quoted at 12.513b, where see n.). The material that follows appears to be drawn from a document very similar to the one quoted or adapted at 1.24b–5f.

ἀπόνως—ὥσπερ ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι μέγιστόν ἐστι τῶν
e κακῶν ἡ περὶ τὸ ζῆν ταλαιπωρία καὶ ὁ πόνος. | διόπερ
καὶ Μεγακλείδης ἐπιτιμᾷ τοῖς μεθ' Ὅμηρον καὶ Ἡσί-
οδον ποιηταῖς ὅσοι περὶ Ἡρακλέους εἰρήκασιν ὡς
στρατοπέδων ἡγεῖτο καὶ πόλεις ᾖρει· ὃς μεθ' ἡδονῆς
πλείστης τὸν μετ' ἀνθρώπων βίον διετέλεσε, πλείστας
μὲν γυναῖκας γήμας, ἐκ πλείστων δὲ λάθρᾳ παρθένων
παιδοποιησάμενος. εἴποι γὰρ ἄν τις πρὸς τοὺς οὐ
ταῦτα παραδεχομένους· "πόθεν, ὦ οὗτοι, τὴν περὶ τὰς
ἐδωδὰς αὐτῷ σπουδὴν ἀνατίθετε, ἢ πόθεν παρῆλθεν
f εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ τῆς λοιβαίας κύλικος | μηδὲν
ὑπολείπεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐδοκίμαζεν; ἢ
διὰ τί τὰ θερμὰ λουτρὰ τὰ φαινόμενα ἐκ τῆς γῆς
πάντες Ἡρακλέους φασὶν εἶναι ἱερά; ἢ διὰ τί τὰς
μαλακὰς στρωμνὰς Ἡρακλέους κοίτας εἰώθασι κα-
λεῖν, εἰ κατεφρόνει τῶν ἡδέως ζώντων;" τοῦτον οὖν,
φησίν, οἱ νέοι ποιηταὶ κατασκευάζουσιν ἐν λῃστοῦ
σχήματι μόνον περιπορευόμενον, ξύλον ἔχοντα καὶ
λεοντῆν καὶ τόξα· καὶ ταῦτα πλάσαι πρῶτον Στησίχο-
513 ρον τὸν Ἰμεραῖον. || καὶ Ξάνθος δ' ὁ μελοποιός,
πρεσβύτερος ὢν Στησιχόρου, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Στησί-
χορος μαρτυρεῖ, ὥς φησιν ὁ Μεγακλείδης, οὐ ταύτην
αὐτῷ περιτίθησι τὴν στολήν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ὁμηρικήν.
πολλὰ δὲ τῶν Ξάνθου παραπεποίηκεν ὁ Στησίχορος,
ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν Ὀρέστειαν καλουμένην. Ἀντισθένης
δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι φάσκων προσέθηκεν τὴν
ἀμεταμέλητον. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἥγε-

"effortlessly"—as if trying to indicate that nothing is worse than leading a difficult life and working hard. This is why Megacleides (*FHG* iv.443–4) criticizes the poets who came after Homer and Hesiod and who claim that Heracles led armies and captured cities, despite the fact that he spent his time on earth having as good a time as he could, and married more women and secretly got more girls pregnant than anyone else ever did. Because one might say to those who refuse to accept such stories: "How is, gentlemen, that you assign such an extraordinary interest in food to him? Or where did we get the idea that nothing is to be left in a cup from which a libation has been poured,[21] unless he approved of pleasure? Or why does everyone say that the warm springs that emerge from the earth are sacred to Heracles?[22] And why do they routinely refer to piles of soft bedding as Heraclean beds, if he looked down on people who enjoy life?" The more recent poets, he says, dress Heracles in a bandit's outfit and have him wander around alone with a club, a lion-skin, and a bow; the first to represent him this way was Stesichorus of Himera (*PMG* 229, including the material that follows). But the lyric poet Xanthus (*PMG* 699), who predates Stesichorus, as Stesichorus himself attests, according to Megacleides, did not dress him this way, but in the Homeric style instead. Stesichorus plagiarized much of Xanthus' poetry, for example what is referred to as his *Oresteia*. Antisthenes (fr. 110 Decleva Caizzi = *SSR* V A 127) said that pleasure was a good, but added that he meant pleasure one does not regret afterward. Homer's Odysseus appears to have guided

[21] Sc. in honor of Heracles.

[22] Cf. Ibyc. *PMG* 300; Ar. *Nu.* 1051 with Dover ad loc.

μὼν δοκεῖ γεγενῆσθαι Ἐπικούρῳ τῆς πολυθρυλήτου ἡδονῆς, ὅσπερ φησίν· |

b οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ γέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι
ἢ ὅταν εὐφροσύνη[6] μὲν ἔχῃ κατὰ δῆμον ἅπαντα,
δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ
ἥμενοι ἑξείης, παρὰ δὲ πλήθωσι τράπεζαι
σίτου καὶ κρειῶν, μέθυ δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων
οἰνοχόος παρέχῃσι[7] καὶ ἐγχείῃ δεπάεσσιν.
τοῦτό τί μοι κάλλιστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἴδεται εἶναι.

ὁ δὲ Μεγακλείδης φησὶ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα καθομιλοῦντα
c τοῖς καιροῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δοκεῖν ὁμοήθη τοῖς | Φαίαξιν εἶναι τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον αὐτῶν ἀσπάζεσθαι, προπυθόμενον τοῦ Ἀλκίνου·

αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαίς τε φίλη κίθαρίς τε χοροί τε
εἵματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί·

μόνως γὰρ οὕτως ᾠήθη ὧν ἤλπιζεν μὴ <ἂν>[8] διαμαρτεῖν. τοιοῦτός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ παραινῶν Ἀμφιλόχῳ τῷ παιδί·

ὦ τέκνον, ποντίου θηρὸς πετραίου
χρωτὶ μάλιστα νόον
προσφέρων πάσαις πολίεσσιν ὁμίλει·

[6] The traditional text of Homer has ἢ ὅτ' ἐϋφροσύνη; see 1.16d n.

[7] The traditional text of Homer has φορέῃσι.

[8] add. Kaibel

Epicurus to his notorious concept of pleasure, since he says (*Od.* 9.5–11):[23]

> For I declare that there is no greater height of
> happiness
> than when joy prevails and wickedness is absent,
> and feasters are in the house listening to a bard,
> seated in a row, and the tables beside them are full
> of bread and meat, and the wine-steward draws wine
> from a mixing-bowl and offers it to them, pouring it
> into their goblets.
> This seems to me in my mind to be what is best.

But Megacleides claims that Odysseus was adapting himself to the situation, in order to appear to share the Phaeacians' inclinations, when he praised their delicate lifestyle, since he had earlier heard Alcinous say (*Od.* 8.248–9):

> For what we care about is always feasting, and the
> lyre, and dances,
> and changes of clothing, and hot baths, and bed;

because he thought that this was the only way he would get what he wanted from them. The man who offers advice to Amphilochus when he is a boy is the same sort (Pi. fr. 43):[24]

> My child, make the way you think, whatever city
> you visit, most closely resemble
> the skin of the creature that lives in the sea's rocks:[25]

[23] Portions of the same passage are quoted also at 1.16d (where see n.); 2.40d; 5.192c–d; cf. 12.512d.

[24] Cf. *Theb.* fr. 4.1–2 Bernabé, quoted at 7.317a–b.

[25] I.e. the octopus.

τῷ παρεόντι δ' ἐπαινήσαις ἑκὼν |
d ἄλλοτ' ἀλλοῖα φρόνει.

ὁμοίως φησὶν καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἰφιγενείᾳ·

νόει πρὸς ἀνδρὶ χρῶμα πουλύπους ὅπως
πέτρᾳ τραπέσθαι γνησίου φρονήματος.

καὶ ὁ Θέογνις·

πουλύπου ὀργὴν ἴσχε πολυπλόκου.

εἰσὶ δ' οἳ φασι ταύτης εἶναι τῆς γνώμης τὸν Ὅμηρον, προτάττοντα τοῦ σπουδαίου βίου πολλάκις τὸν καθ' ἡδονήν, λέγοντα·

οἱ δὲ θεοὶ πὰρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἠγορόωντο
χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ· μετὰ δέ σφισι πότνια Ἥβη |
e νέκταρ ἐῴνοχόει, τοὶ δὲ χρυσέοις δεπάεσσιν
δειδέχατ' ἀλλήλους.

καὶ ὁ Μενέλαος δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ φησιν·

οὐδέ κεν ἡμέας
ἄλλο διέκρινεν φιλέοντέ τε τερπομένω τε.

καί·

ἤμεθα δαινύμενοι κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθυ ἡδύ.

do not hesitate to praise the man you are with,
and think different things at different times.

Sophocles says something similar in *Iphigenia* (fr. 307):

Just as an octopus matches its color to the rock,
be sure to match yourself to a man with an honest
mind.

Also Theognis (215):[26]

Have the temperament of a wily octopus!

There are those who claim that this is Homer's own opinion, since he frequently ranks a life organized around pleasure ahead of the serious life, by saying (*Il.* 4.1–4):[27]

The gods were gathered together, sitting in Zeus'
house
on a gold floor; Lady Hêbê was pouring nectar
in their midst, and they hailed one another
with gold goblets.

His Menelaus as well says (*Od.* 4.178–9):

Nor would anything else
have separated us, as we maintained our friendship
and enjoyed ourselves.

Also (*Od.* 9.162 = 557):

We sat there, feasting on boundless meat and
delicious wine.

[26] Quoted more fully at 7.317a.

[27] Parts of the third and fourth verses are quoted also at 1.13f = Dioscurides fr. 19 Weber.

διόπερ καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς τρυφὴν καὶ λαγνείαν τέλος τοῦ βίου παρὰ τῷ Ἀλκινόῳ τίθεται.

Διαβόητοι δὲ ἐπὶ τρυφῇ ἐγένοντο πρῶτοι πάντων
f ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι, ὧν καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐχείμαζον μὲν ἐν Σούσοις, ἐθέριζον δὲ ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις. κληθῆναι δὲ τὰ Σοῦσά φησιν Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ Χάρης διὰ τὴν ὡραιότητα τοῦ τόπου· σοῦσον γὰρ εἶναι τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ τὸ κρίνον. ἐν Περσεπόλει δὲ διατρίβουσι <τὸ>[9] φθινόπωρον καὶ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τὸ λεῖπον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ μέρος. καὶ οἱ Πάρθων δὲ βασιλεῖς ἐαρίζουσι μὲν ἐν Ῥάγαις, χειμάζουσι δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι < . . . > τὸ λεῖπον
514 τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. || καὶ τὸ παράσημον δὲ ὃ ἐπετίθεντο τῇ κεφαλῇ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς οὐδ' αὐτὸ ἠρνεῖτο τὴν τῆς ἡδυπαθείας ἀπόλαυσιν· κατεσκευάζετο γάρ, ὥς φησι Δίνων, ἐκ σμύρνης καὶ τοῦ καλουμένου λαβύζου. εὐῶδες δ' ἐστὶν ἡ λάβυζος καὶ πολυτιμότερον τῆς σμύρνης. ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἅρματος κατίοι, φησί, βασιλεύς, οὔτε καθήλλετο ὀλίγου ὄντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τοῦ ὕψους οὔτε διὰ χειρῶν ἐρειδόμενος, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ αὐτῷ χρυσοῦς δίφρος ἐτίθετο καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιβαίνων κατήει·
b καὶ ὁ βασιλέως διφροφόρος εἰς | τοῦτο εἵπετο. φυλάσσουσί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τριακόσιαι γυναῖκες, ὡς ἱστορεῖ ὁ Κυμαῖος Ἡρακλείδης ἐν πρώτῃ Περσικῶν. αὗται δὲ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας κοιμῶνται, ἵνα νυκτὸς ἐγρηγορῶσι, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ᾄδουσαι καὶ ψάλλουσαι διατελοῦσι

[9] add. Kaibel

This is why Odysseus in Alcinous' house treats luxury and lust as what is best in life (*Od.* 9.5–11, quoted above).

The first people to be notorious for their addiction to luxury were the Persians, whose kings spent the winter in Susa and the summer in Ecbatana. Aristobulus (*FGrH* 139 F 18) and Chares (*FGrH* 125 F 11) claim that Susa got its name from how beautiful the place was; because *souson* translated into Greek is "lily" (*krinon*).[28] They spend the fall in Persepolis, and the rest of the year in Babylon. The Parthian kings as well spend the spring in Rhagae and the winter in Babylon . . . the rest of the year. Nor did the emblem the Persian kings placed on their head in any way deny the pleasure they took in living luxuriously; for according to Dinon (*FGrH* 690 F 25a) it was made of myrrh and what is referred to as *labuzos*. *Labuzos* has a nice smell and is more expensive than myrrh. Whenever the king descended from his chariot, says Dinon (*FGrH* 690 F 26), he neither jumped down (even though the distance to the ground was minimal) nor supported himself on someone's hand; instead, a gold stool was always set out for him, and he put his feet on this when he descended. The royal stool-bearer followed him for this purpose. 300 women stand guard over him, according to Heracleides of Cumae in Book I of the *History of Persia* (*FGrH* 689 F 1). They sleep during the day, so that they can stay awake at night, and they spend the whole night singing and playing harps, with

[28] Cf. 15.689d (*sousinon* perfume mentioned by Theophrastus, with a gloss explaining that it is made from *krina*). The noun *souson* is not firmly attested elsewhere in Greek and is most likely Semitic (cf. Hebrew *shushan*, "lily"). In any case, the city the Greeks called Susa was properly known as Shushim.

λύχνων καιομένων· χρῆται δὲ αὐταῖς καὶ παλλακίσιν
ὁ βασιλεὺς < . . . > διὰ τῆς τῶν μηλοφόρων αὐλῆς.
ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι τῶν δορυφόρων καὶ τῷ γένει πάντες
Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τῶν στυράκων μῆλα χρυσᾶ ἔχοντες,
χίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἀριστίνδην ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν
c μυρίων Περσῶν τῶν Ἀθανάτων | καλουμένων. καὶ
διήει διὰ τῆς τούτων αὐλῆς πεζὸς ὑποτιθεμένων ψιλο-
ταπίδων Σαρδιανῶν, ἐφ' ὧν οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπέβαινεν ἢ
βασιλεύς. ὅτε δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην αὐλὴν ἔλθοι, ἀν-
έβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἵππου· πεζὸς δὲ
οὐδέποτε ἐωράθη ἔξω τῶν βασιλείων. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ θήραν
ἐξίοι, καὶ αἱ παλλακίδες αὐτῷ συνεξῄεσαν. ὁ δὲ θρό-
νος ἐφ' ᾧ ἐχρημάτιζεν καθήμενος χρυσοῦς ἦν, ὃν
περιειστήκεσαν τέσσαρες κιονίσκοι λιθοκόλλητοι
d χρυσοῖ, ἐφ' ὧν διετέτατο ἱμάτιον ποικίλον | πορφυ-
ροῦν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τετάρτῳ Βίων προ-
ειπὼν περὶ τῆς Μήδων τρυφῆς καὶ ὅτι διὰ ταύτην
πολλοὺς εὐνουχίσαιεν τῶν περικτιόνων, ἐπιφέρει καὶ
τὴν παρὰ Μήδων γενέσθαι Πέρσαις μηλοφορίαν μὴ
μόνων ὧν ἔπαθον τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν δορυ-
φορούντων τρυφῆς εἰς ὅσον ἦλθον ἀνανδρίας ὑπόμνη-
μα· δύναται γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡ παράκαιρος ἅμα καὶ
μάταιος αὐτῶν περὶ τὸν βίον τρυφὴ καὶ τοὺς ταῖς
λόγχαις καθωπλισμένους ἀγύρτας ἀποφαίνειν. καὶ
προελθὼν δὲ γράφει· τοῖς γοῦν πορίσασί τι αὐτῷ ἡδὺ
e βρῶμα διδοὺς | ἆθλα τοῦ πορισθέντος οὐχ ἑτέραις

the lamps lit. The king also uses them as concubines . . . through the courtyard of the Apple-bearers. The latter were members of his bodyguard, who were all native Persians, and who had gold apples on the butt-ends of their spears. There were 1000 of them, and they were selected from the 10,000 so-called Persian Immortals on the basis of merit. He passed through their courtyard on foot; pileless Sardian carpets, which no one except the king ever stepped upon, were spread on the floor. When he reached the end of the courtyard, he got up onto his chariot, or sometimes onto a horse; he was never seen on foot outside the palace. If he went out hunting, his concubines accompanied him. The throne on which he sat to do his administrative business was made of gold, and four small gold columns set with jewels stood around it, with an embroidered purple canopy stretched between them. Clearchus of Soli in Book IV of the *Lives* (fr. 49 Wehrli) begins by describing the Medes' addiction to luxury and the fact that this motivated them to turn many of their neighbors into eunuchs, and then goes on to say that the Persians got the practice of "apple-bearing" from the Medes not just as revenge for what had been done to them, but also as a reminder of the bodyguards' addiction to luxury and of what cowards they had become; because their inopportune and foolish addiction to luxury in the way they lived was, apparently, capable of converting even men armed with spears into eunuch priests. Further on, moreover, he writes (fr. 51a Wehrli):[29] Because although he offered prizes to people who found something delicious for him to eat, once he had the food, he did not increase the appeal of the prizes by attaching

[29] Quoted again, in slightly different form, at 12.529d.

ἡδύνων ταῦτα τιμαῖς παρετίθει, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἀπολαύειν αὐτῶν, νοῦν ἔχων· τοῦτο μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λεγόμενος, οἶμαι, καὶ Διὸς ἅμα καὶ βασιλέως ἐγκέφαλος. Χάρης δ' ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἱστοριῶν, εἰς τοῦτο, φησίν, ἦκον τρυφῆς οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ὥστε ἔχεσθαι τῆς βασιλικῆς κλίνης ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἴκημά τι πεντάκλινον, ἐν ᾧ χρυσίου πεντακισχίλια | διὰ παντὸς ἔκειτο f τάλαντα, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο προσκεφάλαιον βασιλικόν. καὶ πρὸς ποδῶν ἕτερον οἴκημα τρίκλινον, οὗ τάλαντα τρισχίλια ἔκειτο ἀργυρίου, καὶ προσηγορεύετο βασιλικὸν ὑποπόδιον. ἦν δ' ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι καὶ λιθοκόλλητος ἄμπελος χρυσῆ ὑπὲρ τῆς κλίνης (τὴν δ' ἄμπελον ταύτην Ἀμύντας φησὶν ἐν τοῖς Σταθμοῖς καὶ βότρυας ἔχειν ἐκ τῶν πολυτελεστάτων ψήφων συν-
515 τεθειμένους) οὐ μακράν τε ταύτης ἀνακεῖσθαι || κρατῆρα χρυσοῦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ποίημα. Ἀγαθοκλῆς δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Κυζίκου ἐν Πέρσαις φησὶν εἶναι καὶ <τὸ>[10] χρυσοῦν καλούμενον ὕδωρ. εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο λιβάδας ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ μηδένα πίνειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ μόνον βασιλέα καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων· τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐάν τις πίῃ, θάνατος ἡ ζημία.

[10] add. Kaibel

[30] Sc. by allowing the man who had discovered the food in question to dine with him? But Clearchus' Greek is as crabbed as always, and precisely what he means is obscure.

other honors to them,[30] but instead preferred to enjoy them all by himself, and rightly so;[31] because this is what is referred to, I believe, as "the brain of Zeus[32] and of the king as well." Chares of Mitylene says in Book V of his *History Involving Alexander* (*FGrH* 125 F 2): The Persian kings had grown so addicted to luxury that a room large enough to hold five couches was located at the head of the royal bed, and 5000 talents of coined gold were always stored inside; this was referred to as the king's pillow. At his feet was another room, large enough to hold three couches, where 3000 talents of coined silver were stored; this was referred to as the royal footstool. There was also a gold grapevine set with jewels over the bed in his bedchamber—Amyntas in his *Stations* (*FGrH* 122 F 6) claims that this vine had bunches of grapes made of the most expensive jewels—and not far from this was a gold mixing-bowl produced by Theodorus of Samos.[33] Agathocles in Book III of *On Cyzicus* (*FGrH* 472 F 3) says that the Persians have what is referred to as the gold water. This consists of 70 springs, from which no one is allowed to drink except the king and his oldest son; if anyone else drinks from them, the penalty is death. Xenophon says in Book

[31] Presumably a sarcastic comment.

[32] For "Zeus-brain" as an (otherwise unidentified) delicacy, see Ephipp. fr. 13.6 (preserved at 14.642e).

[33] Herodotus 7.27.2 also mentions the gold grapevine, claiming that it was given to Xerxes' father Darius by Pythius of Lydia, and refers elsewhere to several other objects made by Theodorus (including a pair of gold and silver mixing-bowls: 1.51.2–3), who dates to the mid-6th century BCE.

Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἐν ὀγδόῳ Παιδείας, ἐχρῶντο, φησίν, ἔτι τότε τῇ ἐκ Περσῶν παιδείᾳ καὶ τῇ Μήδων στολῇ καὶ ἁβρότητι. νῦν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν καρτερίαν περι-
b ορῶσιν ἀποσβεννυμένην, τὴν | δὲ τῶν Μήδων μαλακίαν διασῴζονται. σαφηνίσαι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ τὴν θρύψιν αὐτῶν. ἐκείνοις γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν οὐκέτι τὰς εὐνὰς μόνον ἁρκεῖ μαλακῶς ὑποστόρνυσθαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν κλινῶν τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ ταπίδων τιθέασιν, ὅπως μὴ ἀντερείδῃ τὸ δάπεδον, ἀλλ' ὑπείκωσιν αἱ τάπιδες. καὶ μὴν τὰ πεττόμενα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ὅσα τε πρότερον εὕρητο οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀφῄρηται ἄλλα τε καινὰ αἰεὶ ἐπιμηχανῶνται, καὶ ὄψα γε ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ καινοποιητὰς ἀμφοτέρων τούτων κέκτηνται. ἀλλὰ |
c καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι οὐ μόνον κεφαλὴν καὶ σῶμα καὶ πόδας αὐτοῖς ἀρκεῖ ἐσκεπάσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἄκραις ταῖς χερσὶν χειρῖδας δασείας καὶ δακτυλήθρας ἔχουσιν. ἔν γε μὴν τῷ θέρει οὐκ ἀρκοῦσιν αὐτοῖς οὔθ' αἱ τῶν δένδρων οὔθ' αἱ τῶν πετρῶν σκιαί, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύταις ἑτέρας σκιάδας ἄνθρωποι μηχανώμενοι αὐτοῖς παρεστᾶσι. κἂν τοῖς ἑξῆς δέ φησι περὶ αὐτῶν οὑτωσί· νῦν δὲ στρώματα πλείω ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐνῶν· οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἱππείας οὕτως ὡς τοῦ μαλακῶς
d | καθῆσθαι ἐπιμέλονται. καὶ τοὺς θυρωροὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς σιτοποιοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ παρατιθέντας καὶ ἀναιροῦντας καὶ κατακοιμίζοντας καὶ ἀνιστάντας καὶ τοὺς κοσμητὰς οἳ ὑποχρίουσί τε καὶ ἐντρίβουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τἄλλα ῥυθμίζουσιν.

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[34] Sc. with parasols.

VIII (8.15–17) of the *Education*: In those days they still practiced the traditional Persian style of education, while wearing Median clothing and enjoying their dainty lifestyle. But nowadays they ignore the fact that the toughness they inherited from the Persians is becoming extinct, although they preserve the Medes' effeminacy. I would like to offer a more precise account of their depravity. It is no longer enough for them, first of all, merely to cover their beds with soft blankets; instead, they now place the feet of their couches on carpets, to prevent the floor from offering them any resistance and to allow the carpets to absorb the stress. As for the baked goods they consume, moreover, nothing that was invented in the past has been given up, and they are constantly inventing new items. The same is true of other delicacies (*opsa*), and they actually have people whose job is to experiment in both areas. In the winter it is not enough for them to cover up their heads, bodies, and feet, and they wear thick gloves that have fingers on their hands. And in the summer they are not satisfied with the shadows trees and rocks cast, and people stand beside them in such spots and produce even more shade.[34] So too in the section immediately after this (*Cyr.* 8.8.19–20, condensed) he says the following about them: But nowadays they have more blankets on their horses than on their beds, because they are less concerned about their ability to control the animal they are riding than in having a comfortable place to sit. Likewise in the case of their doorkeepers, bakers, chefs, and wine-stewards, and the slaves charged with setting and clearing their tables, and with putting them to bed and getting them up, and the beauticians who rub lotion on them, give them massages, and generally keep them in good condition.

Λυδοὶ δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθον τρυφῆς ὡς καὶ πρῶτοι γυναῖκας εὐνουχίσαι, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ξάνθος ὁ Λυδὸς ἢ ὁ τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένας Ἱστορίας συγγεγραφώς—Διονύσιος δ' ὁ Σκυτοβραχίων, ὡς Ἀρτέμων φη-
e σὶν ὁ Κασσανδρεὺς ἐν | τῷ Περὶ Συναγωγῆς Βιβλίων, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι Ἔφορος ὁ συγγραφεὺς μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ ὡς παλαιοτέρου ὄντος καὶ Ἡροδότῳ τὰς ἀφορμὰς δεδωκότος—ὁ δ' οὖν Ξάνθος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Λυδιακῶν Ἀδραμύτην φησὶ τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα πρῶτον γυναῖκας εὐνουχίσαντα χρῆσθαι αὐταῖς ἀντὶ ἀνδρῶν εὐνούχων. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ Περὶ Βίων, Λυδοί, φησί, διὰ τρυφὴν παραδείσους κατασκευασάμενοι καὶ ἀνηλίους αὐτοὺς ποιήσαντες ἐσκιατρο-
f φοῦντο, τρυφερώτερον | ἡγησάμενοι τὸ μηδ' ὅλως αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτειν τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγάς. καὶ τέλος πόρρω προάγοντες ὕβρεως τὰς τῶν ἄλλων γυναῖκας καὶ παρθένους εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν Ἀγνεῶνα κληθέντα συνάγοντες ὕβριζον. καὶ τέλος τὰς ψυχὰς ἀποθηλυνθέντες ἠλλάξαντο τὸν τῶν γυναικῶν βίον, διόπερ καὶ γυναῖκα τύραννον ὁ βίος εὕρετο αὐτοῖς μίαν τῶν ὑβρισθεισῶν Ὀμφάλην· ἥτις πρώτη κατῆρξε μὲν τῆς εἰς Λυδοὺς πρεπούσης τιμωρίας· τὸ γὰρ ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἄρχεσθαι ὑβριζομένους σημεῖόν
516 ἐστι βίας. οὖσα οὖν καὶ αὐτὴ ἀκόλαστος || καὶ ἀμυνομένη τὰς γενομένας αὐτῇ πρότερον ὕβρεις τοῖς ἐν τῇ

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[35] Obscure; the most obvious explanation would seem to be

The Lydians became so addicted to luxury that they were the first people to create female eunuchs, according to Xanthus of Lydia (*FGrH* 765 T 5), or whoever it was that composed the *History* attributed to him—it was Dionysius Scytobrachion (*FGrH* 32 T 6 = test. 4 Rusten), according to Artemon of Cassandreia in his *On Collecting Books* (fr. 9, *FHG* iv.342), who is unaware that the prose-author Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 180) refers to Xanthus as being earlier than himself and as providing Herodotus with his sources—Xanthus, at any rate, says in Book II of his *History of Lydia* (*FGrH* 765 F 4a) that the Lydian king Adramytes was the first person to create female eunuchs, and used them in place of male eunuchs. Clearchus says in Book IV of *On Lives* (fr. 43a Wehrli): The Lydians were so addicted to luxury that they made themselves parks (*paradeisoi*) into which the sun could not intrude, and lived in the shade, since they believed that it was more elegant to completely avoid the sun's rays. They finally grew even more depraved, and began to assemble other people's wives and daughters in the place referred to as Hagneôn because of what went on there,[35] and raped them. In the end they became so effeminate that they began to live like women, which is why life selected Omphale, who was one of the women they had raped, to rule over them. She initiated the punishment the Lydians deserved; because being ruled by a woman and abused is evidence of having behaved violently. So since she was herself an unbridled character and wanted to exact vengeance for the outrages committed against her previously, she gave the city's slaves

that the name is taken to be connected etymologically with the adjective *hagnos* ("pure, chaste, holy") and is an ironic euphemism.

πόλει δούλοις τὰς τῶν δεσποτῶν παρθένους ἐξέδωκεν ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ πρὸς ἐκείνων ὑβρίσθη· εἰς τοῦτον οὖν συναθροίσασα μετ᾽ ἀνάγκης συγκατέκλινε τοῖς δούλοις τὰς δεσποίνας. ὅθεν οἱ Λυδοὶ τὸ πικρὸν τῆς πράξεως ὑποκοριζόμενοι τὸν τόπον καλοῦσιν Γλυκὺν Ἀγκῶνα.[11] οὐ μόνον δὲ Λυδῶν γυναῖκες ἄφετοι οὖσαι τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἐπιζεφυρίων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν περὶ Κύπρον καὶ πάντων ἁπλῶς τῶν ἑταιρισμῷ | τὰς ἑαυτῶν κόρας ἀφοσιούντων, παλαιᾶς τινος ὕβρεως ἔοικεν εἶναι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὑπόμνημα καὶ τιμωρίας. πρὸς ἣν εἷς τῶν Λυδῶν εὐγενὴς ἀνὴρ ὁρμήσας καὶ τῇ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς Μίδου βασιλείᾳ βαρυνθείς, τοῦ μὲν Μίδου ὑπ᾽ ἀνανδρίας καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ἐν πορφύρᾳ κειμένου καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐν τοῖς ἱστοῖς συνταλασιουργοῦντος, Ὀμφάλης δὲ πάντας τοὺς συγκατακλιθέντας αὐτῇ ξενοκτονούσης, ἀμφοτέρους ἐκόλασε, τὸν μὲν ὑπὸ ἀπαιδευσίας κεκωφημένον τῶν ὤτων ἐξελκύσας, ὃς διὰ τὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν | ἔνδειαν τοῦ πάντων ἀναισθητοτάτου ζῴου τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχε· τὴν δὲ < . . . > πρῶτοι δὲ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὴν καρύκην ἐξεῦρον, περὶ ἧς τῆς σκευασίας οἱ τὰ Ὀψαρτυτικὰ συνθέντες εἰρήκασιν, Γλαῦκός τε ὁ Λοκρὸς καὶ Μίθαικος καὶ Διονύσιος Ἡρακλεῖδαί τε δύο γένος Συρακόσιοι καὶ Ἆγις καὶ Ἐπαίνετος καὶ Διονύσιος ἔτι τε Ἡγήσιππος καὶ Ἐρασίστρατος καὶ Εὐθύδημος καὶ

[11] γυναικῶν ἀγῶνα Γλυκὺν Ἀγκῶνα ACE: γυναικῶν ἀγῶνα del. Schweighäuser

their masters' daughters in the place where they had raped her; so she collected the women who belonged to the masters' houses in that spot and forced them to sleep with their slaves. As a consequence, the Lydians refer euphemistically to the unpleasantness that went on by calling the place Glukus Ankôn.[36] It was not just Lydian women who were allowed to have sex with anyone who came along, but also the women in Epizypherian Locris, as well as in Cyprus and, simply put, in all the places where they dedicate their daughters to serve as prostitutes, which seems to be, in fact, a form of remembrance and recompense for some ancient act of violence. This was what motivated one of the Lydians, who came from a good family and was unhappy with the way Midas ruled them, since Midas' effeminacy and addiction to luxury had led to him lying around in purple clothing and working at the loom along with his women, while Omphale used to murder all the foreigners who slept with her. He punished them both: he grabbed Midas, whose crude behavior had rendered him insensible, by the ears, and stretched them out—Midas' lack of intelligence earned him a nickname that referred to the stupidest creature there is[37]—while as for Omphale . . . The Lydians also invented *karukê*; recipes for this dish are given by the authors of *Cookbooks*: Glaucus of Locris, Mithaecus, Dionysius, the two Heracleides (both from Syracuse), Agis, Epaenetus, and Dionysius, as well as Hegesippus, Erasistratus (fr. 290 Garofalo), Euthydemus,

[36] Literally "Sweet Embrace."

[37] A donkey. For Midas' donkey-ears, cf. Ar. *Pl.* 287; Ov. *Met.* 11.146–93; Hyg. *Fab.* 191.

Κρίτων, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ Στέφανος, Ἀρχύτας, Ἀκεσίας,[12] Διοκλῆς, Φιλιστίων· τοσούτους γὰρ οἶδα γράψαντας Ὀψαρτυτικά. καὶ κάνδαυλον δέ τινα ἔλεγον |
d οἱ Λυδοί, οὐχ ἕνα ἀλλὰ τρεῖς· οὕτως ἐξήσκηντο πρὸς τὰς ἡδυπαθείας. γίνεσθαι δ' αὐτόν φησιν ὁ Ταραντῖνος Ἡγήσιππος ἐξ ἐφθοῦ κρέως καὶ κνηστοῦ ἄρτου καὶ Φρυγίου τυροῦ ἀνήθου τε καὶ ζωμοῦ πίονος. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Ἄλεξις ἐν Παννυχίδι ἢ Ἐρίθοις· μάγειρος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ προσδιαλεγόμενος·

(Α.) † ὅτι † δέ σοι παρὰ τοῦτο κάνδαυλόν τινα παραθήσομεν. (Β.) κάνδαυλον; οὐκ ἐδήδοκα
< . . . > οὐδ' ἀκήκοˆ οὐδε<πώ>ποτε.
(Α.) θαυμαστὸν ἐμὸν εὕρημα· πάνυ πολὺν δ' ἐγὼ |
e ἐὰν παραθῶ σοι, προσκατέδει τοὺς δακτύλους σαυτῷ γε χαίρων. † ἔρια † μὲν ποιήσομεν
(Β.) ἄνθρωπε, ποίει λευκὰ καὶ βλέπ' εἰς < . . . >
(Α.) ἐπὰν ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν—ταρίχους, ἰχθύων, κρεῶν, βατανίων—εὐθέως < . . . >
δίπυρον παραθήσεις, ᾧὸν ἐπιτετμημένον,
πυόν, μέλιτος ὀξύβαφον, ἀποταγηνιῶ,
τυροῦ τροφάλια χλωρὰ Κυθνίου παρατεμών,
βοτρύδιόν τι, χόριον, ἐν ποτηρίῳ
γλυκύν· τὸ τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἀεί πως μέρος |
f ἐπιπαίζεται, κεφαλὴ δὲ δείπνου γίγνεται—

[12] Ἀκέστιος Ἀκεσίας ACE: Ἀκέστιος del. Kaibel

and Crito, and in addition Stephanus, Archytas, Acesias, Diocles (fr. dub. 234 van der Eijk), and Philistion (fr. 13 Wellmann). These are all the authors of *Cookbooks* that I am aware of. The Lydians also described something known as *kandaulos*, of which there was not one type but three; this is how sophisticated they were when it came to living luxuriously. According to Hegesippus of Tarentum, *kandaulos* is made of bits of stewed meat, bread crumbs, Phrygian cheese, anise, and fatty broth. Alexis mentions it in *The All-Night Festival or Hired Workers* (fr. 178); the man he is speaking to is a cook:

(A.) † That † on top of this, we'll serve you
a *kandaulos*. (B.) A *kandaulos*? I've never
eaten or heard . . .
(A.) It's an amazing invention of mine; even if I serve
you a really big one, you'll enjoy yourself so much
that
you'll eat your fingers too! We'll make [corrupt]
(B.) Make it white, pal—and concentrate on . . .
(A.) When it's made from ordinary ingredients—
saltfish, fresh fish,
chunks of meat, casserole-dishes—immediately . . .
you'll serve a biscuit, a sliced hard-boiled egg,
beestings, a little cup of honey; I'll slice up
some hunks of fresh Cynthian cheese and fry them in
a pan;
a few grapes, after-birth pudding, grape-must
in a cup. Because food like that always represents, as
it were,
the cooling-down period, whereas the main course
consists of—

(B.) ἄνθρωπ᾽ ἐπίπαιζε· μόνον ἀπαλλάγηθί μου
< . . . > κανδαύλους λέγων καὶ χόρια καὶ
βατάνια πᾶσαν < . . . > τὴν ἡδονήν.

μνημονεύει τοῦ κανδαύλου καὶ Φιλήμων ἐν Παρεισιόντι οὕτως·

τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει
μάρτυρας ἔχω γὰρ ὅτι μόνος φύσκην ποῶ,
κάνδαυλον, ᾠά, θρῖον † εν στενω. † τί < . . . >
τούτων διάπτωμ᾽ ἐγένετ᾽ ἢ ἁμάρτημα τί; ||

517 καὶ Νικόστρατος ἐν Μαγείρῳ·

ὃς μέλανα ποεῖν ζωμὸν οὐκ ἠπίστατο,
θρῖον δὲ καὶ κάνδαυλον.

καὶ Μένανδρος Τροφωνίῳ·

Ἰωνικὸς πλούταξ· ὑποστάσεις ποῶ,
κάνδαυλον, ὑποβινητιῶντα βρώματα.

καὶ εἰς τοὺς πολέμους δὲ ἐξιόντες οἱ Λυδοὶ παρατάττονται μετὰ συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν, ὥς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος. καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετ᾽ αὐλῶν ἐξορμῶσιν ἐπὶ
b τοὺς πολέμους, καθάπερ Κρῆτες μετὰ | λύρας.

Ἡρακλείδης δ᾽ ὁ Κυμαῖος ὁ τὰ Περσικὰ συγγράψας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις Παρασκευαστικοῖς εἰπὼν ὡς ὁ ἐν τῇ λιβανοφόρῳ χώρᾳ βασιλεὺς αὐτόνο-

(B.) You can go cool off, pal! Just get away from me
. . . talking about *kandauloi* and after-birth puddings
and
casserole-dishes . . . all the pleasure.

Philemon in *The Man Who Tried to Sneak In* (fr. 63) also mentions *kandaulos*, as follows:

The people in town
can attest to the fact that I'm the only one who makes
sausage,
kandaulos, eggs, fig-leaf pastry [corrupt]. Were any
. . . of these stumbles or mistakes?

Also Nicostratus in *The Cook* (fr. 16.1–2):[38]

who didn't know how to make black broth,
but as for a fig-leaf pastry or a *kandaulos*.

Also Menander in *Trophonius* (fr. 351.10–11):[39]

A rich Ionian fool—I make thick soups
and *kandaulos*, lecherous foods.

So too, when the Lydians march into battle, they use Pan-pipes and pipes to keep their ranks in order, according to Herodotus (1.17.1). The Spartans as well march into battle to pipe-music, while the Cretans use lyre-music.[40]

Heracleides of Cumae, the author of the *History of Persia* (*FGrH* 689 F 4), first notes in the section entitled *Preliminaries* that the king in the region where incense is

[38] A complete version of the second verse is quoted, along with a third, at 14.664c.

[39] An extract from a much longer fragment quoted at 4.132e–f.

[40] Very similar material appears at 14.627d.

μός τέ ἐστι καὶ οὐδενὸς ὑπήκοος, γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· οὗτος δ' ὑπερβάλλει τῇ τρυφῇ καὶ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ. διατρίβει τε γὰρ αἰεὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐν τρυφῇ καὶ δαπάνῃ τὸν βίον διάγων καὶ πράττει οὐδὲ ἓν πρᾶγμα ‹αὐτὸς›[13] οὐδὲ ‹τοῖς›[14] πολλοῖς πλησιάζει, ἀλλὰ δικαστὰς ἀποδεικνύει[15]· καὶ ἐάν τις αὐτοὺς ἡγῆται μὴ
c δικαίως δεδικακέναι, | ἔστι θυρὶς ἐν τῷ ὑψηλοτάτῳ τῶν βασιλείων καὶ αὕτη ἀλύσει δέδεται. ὁ οὖν ἡγούμενος ἀδίκως δεδικάσθαι ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῆς ἁλύσεως καὶ ἕλκει τὴν θυρίδα, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπειδὰν αἴσθηται εἰσκαλεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς δικάζει. καὶ ἐὰν φαίνωνται οἱ δικασταὶ ἀδίκως δικάσαντες, ἀποθνῄσκουσιν· ἐὰν δὲ δικαίως, ὁ κινήσας τὴν θυρίδα ἀπόλλυται. τὰ δ' ἀναλώματα λέγεται τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν γυναῖκας καὶ φίλους γίνεσθαι τάλαντα πεντεκαίδεκα Βαβυλώνια. |
d Παρὰ δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς ἐκτόπως τρυφήσασιν ἱστορεῖ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὅτι αἱ θεράπαιναι γυμναὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι διακονοῦνται. Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν καὶ νόμον εἶναί φησιν παρὰ τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς κοινὰς ὑπάρχειν τὰς γυναῖκας. ταύτας δ' ἐπιμελεῖσθαι σφόδρα τῶν σωμάτων καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι πολλάκις καὶ μετ' ἀνδρῶν, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτάς· οὐ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι αὐταῖς φαίνεσθαι γυμναῖς. δειπνεῖν δὲ αὐτὰς οὐ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς
e ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ παρ' οἷς ἂν | τύχωσι τῶν παρόντων, καὶ

[13] add. Wilamowitz; see below [14] add. Meineke

produced is independent and not subject to anyone, and then writes the following: He lives a life of extraordinary luxury and ease. For he spends all his time in his palace, enjoying a luxurious and expensive lifestyle; and he does nothing himself and has no contact with ordinary people. Instead, he appoints judges; and if anyone feels that the judges have made a bad decision, there is a window at the very top of the palace with a chain attached to it. The person who thinks that his case has been decided improperly takes hold of the chain and pulls the window open;[41] when the king hears him, he invites him in and hears the case himself. If, in his opinion, the judges made a bad decision, they die; but if they made a good decision, the person who opened the window dies. The amount of money spent every day on the king, the women he surrounds himself with, and his friends is said to amount to 15 Babylonian talents.[42]

According to Timaeus in Book I (*FGrH* 566 F 1b),[43] the Etruscans lead lives of such unheard-of luxury that the servant-girls wait on the men naked. And Theopompus in Book XLIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 115 F 204) says that it is an Etruscan custom that their women are common property. They take very good care of their bodies and frequently exercise with the men, although at other times they do so by themselves; because they are not ashamed to be seen naked. They do not eat dinner only with their husbands, but with anyone who happens to be there; and they

[41] Sc. and shouts into it. [42] For the Babylonian talent, see 11.782a n. [43] Very similar material appears at 4.153d.

15 δικαστὰς αὐτὸς ἀποδεικνύει ACE: Wilamowitz transferred *αὐτός* to the preceding clause

προπίνουσιν οἷς ἂν βουληθῶσιν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ πιεῖν δεινὰς καὶ τὰς ὄψεις πάνυ καλάς. τρέφειν δὲ τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς πάντα τὰ γινόμενα παιδία, οὐκ εἰδότας ὅτου πατρός ἐστιν ἕκαστον. ζῶσι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῖς θρεψαμένοις, πότους τὰ πολλὰ ποιούμενοι καὶ πλησιάζοντες ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἁπάσαις. οὐδὲν δ' αἰσχρόν ἐστι Τυρρηνοῖς οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τι ποιοῦντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πάσχοντας· ἐπιχώριον γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστι. καὶ τοσούτου δέουσιν αἰσχρὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν ὥστε καὶ λέγουσιν, ὅταν ὁ μὲν δεσπότης τῆς οἰκίας ἀφροδισιάζηται, ζητῇ
f δέ τις αὐτόν, | ὅτι πάσχει τὸ καὶ τό, προσαγορεύοντες αἰσχρῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἐπειδὰν δὲ συνουσιάζωσι καθ' ἑταιρίας ἢ κατὰ συγγενείας, ποιοῦσιν οὕτως· πρῶτον μὲν ὅταν παύσωνται πίνοντες καὶ μέλλωσι καθεύδειν, εἰσάγουσι παρ' αὐτοὺς οἱ διάκονοι τῶν λύχνων ἔτι καιομένων ὁτὲ μὲν ἑταίρας, ὁτὲ δὲ παῖδας πάνυ καλούς, ὁτὲ δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας· ὅταν δὲ τούτων ἀπολαύσωσιν, αὖθις αὐτοῖς νεανίσκους ἀκμάζοντας, οἳ πλησιάζουσιν αὐτοὶ ἐκείνοις. ἀφροδισιάζουσιν δὲ καὶ ποιοῦνται τὰς συνουσίας ὁτὲ μὲν ὁρῶντες ἀλλήλους, ὡς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ καλύβας περιβάλλοντες περὶ τὰς
518 κλίνας, αἳ πεπλεγμέναι εἰσὶν ἐκ ῥάβδων, || ἐπιβέβληται δ' ἄνωθεν ἱμάτια. καὶ πλησιάζουσι μὲν σφόδρα καὶ ταῖς γυναιξί, πολὺ μέντοι γε <μᾶλλον>[16] χαίρουσι συνόντες τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς μειρακίοις· καὶ γὰρ γίνονται παρ' αὐτοῖς πάνυ καλοὶ τὰς ὄψεις, ἅτε τρυφερῶς διαιτώμενοι καὶ λεαινόμενοι τὰ σώματα. |

propose toasts to anyone they want. They are both heavy drinkers and extremely good-looking. The Etruscans raise all the children their wives produce, without knowing who the father is in any particular case. The boys live exactly as their parents do, having constant drinking parties and sleeping with all the women. The Etruscans are not embarrassed not only to do anything in public, but to have anything done to them; because this is another aspect of their local customs. They are so far from regarding any of this as shameful that when the master of the house is letting someone use him sexually, and another person comes looking for him, they actually say that he is having thus-and-such done to him, describing the situation in vulgar terms. When they have parties with their friends or their families, they behave as follows. First, when they are done drinking and are ready to go to sleep, but while the lamps are still lit, their servants bring prostitutes into the room for them, or sometimes very attractive boys, or at other times their wives. And after they enjoy them, the servants next bring them strapping young men, who take the active role in their relations. Sometimes they watch one another while they have sex and enjoy intercourse, but generally they put screens woven out of wicker around their couches and throw cloths over them. They have quite a bit of sex with women, but they much prefer sleeping with boys and young men; the young men in their country are in fact very good-looking, since they enjoy a luxurious lifestyle and remove the hair from their bodies. All the Western bar-

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[16] add. Kaibel

b πάντες δὲ οἱ πρὸς ἑσπέραν οἰκοῦντες βάρβαροι πιττοῦνται καὶ ξυροῦνται τὰ σώματα· καὶ παρά γε τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς ἐργαστήρια κατεσκεύασται πολλὰ καὶ τεχνῖται τούτου τοῦ πράγματός εἰσιν, ὥσπερ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν οἱ κουρεῖς. παρ᾽ οὓς ὅταν εἰσέλθωσιν, παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς πάντα τρόπον, οὐθὲν αἰσχυνόμενοι τοὺς ὁρῶντας οὐδὲ τοὺς παριόντας. χρῶνται δὲ τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν[17] τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκούντων, μαθόντες παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν καὶ Μεσαπίων.
c ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τρυφῆς | οἱ Τυρρηνοί, ὡς Ἄλκιμος ἱστορεῖ, πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ μάττουσιν καὶ πυκτεύουσι καὶ μαστιγοῦσιν.

Διαβόητοι δ᾽ εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τρυφῇ καὶ αἱ τῶν Σικελῶν τράπεζαι, οἵτινες καὶ τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς θάλατταν λέγουσιν εἶναι γλυκεῖαν, χαίροντες τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς γινομένοις ἐδέσμασιν, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν πέμπτῳ Βίων. περὶ δὲ Συβαριτῶν τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; παρ᾽ οἷς πρώτοις εἰσήχθησαν εἰς τὰ βαλανεῖα λουτροχόοι καὶ παραχύται πεπεδημένοι, τοῦ μὴ θᾶττον ἰέναι καὶ ὅπως μὴ σπεύδοντες κατακαίωσι τοὺς λουομένους. πρῶτοι δὲ Συβαρῖται καὶ τὰς ποιούσας ψόφον τέχνας οὐκ ἐῶσιν ἐπιδημεῖν τῇ πόλει, οἷον χαλκέων καὶ τεκτόνων
d καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅπως | αὐτοῖς πανταχόθεν ἀθόρυβοι ὦσιν οἱ ὕπνοι· οὐκ ἐξῆν δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἀλεκτρυόνα ἐν τῇ πόλει τρέφεσθαι. ἱστορεῖ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν Τίμαιος ὅτι ἀνὴρ

[17] καὶ τῶν ACE: καὶ del. Schweighäuser

barians wax and shave their bodies, and in Etruria there are many shops that are set up for this, and individuals who specialize in the business, like barbers in our country. When they visit these individuals, they allow absolutely anything to be done to themselves and are not the least bit ashamed of what the people watching them or passers-by might think. Many of the Greeks who live in Italy behave this way, having taken over these practices from the Samnites and Messapians. According to Alcimus (*FGrH* 560 F 3), the Etruscans are so addicted to luxury that they knead bread, box,[44] and whip people while listening to pipe-music.

Sicilian tables[45] are notoriously luxurious, and the Sicilians even say that the sea in their country tastes sweet, since they like the food it produces, according to Clearchus in Book V of the *Lives* (fr. 59 Wehrli). And why do I even need to mention the Sybarites? They were the first people to introduce the custom of keeping the waterpourers and attendants in their bathhouses in chains, to prevent them from moving too fast and scalding their clients in their haste. The Sybarites were also the first to bar occupations that produced noise, such as bronze-working, carpentry, and the like, from being practiced in their city, so as to prevent their sleep from being disturbed by noise emanating from any quarter; it was not even possible to keep a rooster in the city.[46] Timaeus has a story about

[44] Cf. 4.154a (citing Eratosthenes).

[45] I.e. the food served on them.

[46] Manuscript A preserves a marginal comment at this point: "Alciphro"—unidentified—"refers to this in his *On the Ancient Addiction to Luxury*, and to nearly all the other points as well."

Συβαρίτης εἰς ἀγρόν ποτε πορευόμενος ἔφη ἰδὼν τοὺς ἐργάτας σκάπτοντας αὐτὸς ῥῆγμα λαβεῖν· πρὸς ὃν ἀποκρίνασθαί τινα τῶν ἀκουσάντων, "αὐτὸς δὲ σοῦ διηγουμένου ἀκούων πεπονεκέναι τὴν πλευράν." ἐν Κρότωνι δὲ σκάπτοντί τινι τὴν τῶν ἀθλούντων κόνιν ἐπιστάντες τινὲς Συβαριτῶν ἐθαύμαζον λέγοντες, εἰ τηλικαύτην ἔχοντες πόλιν οἰκέτας μὴ κέκτηνται τοὺς σκάψοντας ἑαυτοῖς τὴν παλαίστραν. ἄλλος δὲ Συβα-
e ρίτης παραγενόμενος | εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ κληθεὶς εἰς φιδίτιον, ἐπὶ τῶν ξύλων κατακείμενος καὶ δειπνῶν μετ' αὐτῶν, πρότερον μὲν ἔφη καταπεπλῆχθαι τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πυνθανόμενος ἀνδρείαν, νῦν δὲ θεασάμενος νομίζειν μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοὺς διαφέρειν· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀνανδρότατον μᾶλλον ἂν ἑλέσθαι ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τοιοῦτον βίον ζῶντα καρτερεῖν. ἔθος δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μέχρι τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἡλικίας ἁλουργίδας τε φορεῖν καὶ πλοκαμῖδας ἀναδεδεμένους χρυσοφορεῖν. ἐπιχωριάζειν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ἀνθρωπάρια μικρὰ καὶ τοὺς σκοπαίους, ὥς
f φησιν ὁ | Τίμαιος, τοὺς καλουμένους παρά τισι στίλπωνας καὶ κυνάρια Μελιταῖα, ἅπερ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἕπεσθαι εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια. πρὸς οὓς καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτοις Μασσανάσσης ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων βασιλεὺς ἀπεκρίνατο, ὥς φησι Πτολεμαῖος ἐν ὀγδόῳ Ὑπομνη-

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47 I.e. it was not the field in which the work was going on that had been broken up, but his own body—and simply by watching the job being done!

them, to the effect that a Sybarite was going out into the country at one point, and when he saw his laborers digging a hole, he said that he had gotten a rupture himself.[47] One of the people who heard him said: "Just listening to you *talk* has given *me* a pain in my side!" A man in Croton was turning up the dirt that athletes use,[48] and some Sybarites watched him and said that they were astonished that the inhabitants of such a big city did not own any slaves who could dig up their wrestling pit for them. Another Sybarite visited Sparta and was invited to a men's mess. He was lying on a couch made of bare wood and eating dinner with them, and he said that he had previously been stunned when he heard about the Spartans' courage, but now that he had seen them, he thought that they were no different from anyone else; because even the biggest coward in the world would prefer to die rather than go on living like this.[49] It was also a custom in their country for the boys to wear sea-purple robes and to keep their hair tied up in braids with gold ornaments until they reached the age of ephebes.[50] As a result of their addiction to luxury, they had midgets in their country, as well as the *skopaioi* that some people refer to as *stilpônes*, according to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 49), and little Melitaean dogs, which followed them to school. According to Ptolemy in Book VIII of the *Commentaries* (*FGrH* 234 F 8), Massanassa, the king of Mauretania, offered a response that was appropriate for these

[48] Sc. in wrestling pits; the work was done by the athletes themselves, as part of their work-out.

[49] The anecdote is preserved, although in almost entirely different words, also at 4.138d–e.

[50] 18 or so.

μάτων, ζητοῦσιν συνωνεῖσθαι πιθήκους· "παρ' ὑμῖν, ὦ οὗτοι, αἱ γυναῖκες οὐ τίκτουσιν παιδία;" παιδίοις γὰρ
519 ἔχαιρεν ὁ Μασσανάσσης || καὶ εἶχεν παρ' αὑτῷ τρεφόμενα τῶν υἱῶν (πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν) τὰ τέκνα καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων ὁμοίως. καὶ πάντα ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἔτρεφεν μέχρι τριῶν ἐτῶν· μεθ' ἃ ἀπέπεμπε πρὸς τοὺς γεγεννηκότας, παραγινομένων ἄλλων. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ἔφη καὶ Εὔβουλος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Χάρισιν οὕτως·

καὶ γὰρ πόσῳ κάλλιον, ἱκετεύω, τρέφειν
ἄνθρωπόν ἐστ' ἄνθρωπον, ἂν ἔχῃ βίον,
ἢ χῆνα πλατυγίζοντα καὶ κεχηνότα,
ἢ στρουθόν, ἢ πίθηκον, ἐπίβουλον κακόν. |

b καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Σπουδῆς καὶ Παιδιᾶς Ἀρχύταν φησὶ τὸν Ταραντῖνον πολιτικὸν ἅμα καὶ φιλόσοφον γενόμενον πλείστους οἰκέτας ἔχοντα αἰεὶ τούτοις παρὰ τὴν δίαιταν ἀφιεμένοις εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἥδεσθαι· ἀλλ' οἱ Συβαρῖται ἔχαιρον τοῖς Μελιταίοις κυνιδίοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις οὐκ ἀνθρώποις. ἐφόρουν δ' οἱ Συβαρῖται καὶ ἱμάτια Μιλησίων ἐρίων πεποιημένα· ἀφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ αἱ φιλίαι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐγένοντο, ὡς ὁ Τίμαιος ἱστορεῖ· ἠγάπων γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας

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51 Referring back to Massanassa's supposed response to people who tried to purchase monkeys from him, marking the comment about his fondness for children that intervenes as an intrusion from a different source-document.

people and others like them, when they tried to buy monkeys: "Hey—don't the women in your country produce children?" For Massanassa enjoyed children and had those that belonged to his sons—of whom he had a large number—as well as his daughters brought up in his house. He raised them all himself until they were three years old, after which he sent them back to their parents, since others had arrived. The comic author Eubulus made the same observation[51] in *Graces* (fr. 114), as follows:

> Because how much better is it, please, for one human being
> to take care of another, if he's got the wherewithall,
> instead of keeping a splashing, honking goose,
> or a sparrow, or a monkey—that's a mischievous pest!

So too Athenodorus in his *On Seriousness and Play* (*FGrH* 746 F 3) says that Archytas of Tarentum (A8 Huffmann), who was simultaneously a politican and a philosopher, had a large number of household slaves, whose company he routinely enjoyed at drinking parties, where they were allowed to eat with him; whereas the Sybarites took pleasure in little Melitaean dogs and human beings who were not actually human.[52] The Sybarites also wore robes made of Milesian wool,[53] which in fact became the basis for an alliance between the two cities, according to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 50); for of the various peoples within Italy, (the Sybarites) preferred the Etruscans, whereas of the peoples

[52] Returning to the point made by Timaeus at 12.518f, and thus to the question of Sybarite luxury.

[53] Considered to be of extremely high quality; see Ar. *Lys.* 729; *Ra.* 543a; Eub. fr. 89.2–3 (preserved at 12.553b); cf. 12.540d.

c Τυρρηνούς, τῶν | δ' ἔξωθεν τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὅτι τρυφῇ προσεῖχον. οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς τῶν Συβαριτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ὄντες ἐπόμπευον ἔχοντες κροκωτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς θώραξιν, καὶ τοῦ θέρους οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ τῶν νυμφῶν λουτρὰ τῶν Λουσιάδων ἀποδημοῦντες διετέλουν μετὰ πάσης τρυφῆς. οἱ δ' εὔποροι αὐτῶν ὁπότε εἰς ἀγρὸν μεταβάλλοιεν, καίπερ ἐπὶ ζευγῶν πορευόμενοι τὴν ἡμερησίαν πορείαν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις διήνυον. ἦσαν δέ τινες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς
d ἀγροὺς φερουσῶν ὁδῶν κατάστεγοι. τοῖς | δὲ πλείστοις αὐτῶν ὑπάρχουσιν οἰνῶνες ἐγγὺς τῆς θαλάσσης, εἰς οὓς δι' ὀχετῶν τῶν οἴνων ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀφειμένων τὸν μὲν ἔξω τῆς χώρας πιπράσκεσθαι, τὸν δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πλοίοις διακομίζεσθαι. ποιοῦνται δὲ καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλὰς καὶ πυκνὰς ἑστιάσεις καὶ τοὺς λαμπρῶς φιλοτιμηθέντας χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις τιμῶσι καὶ τούτους ἀνακηρύττουσιν ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις θυσίαις καὶ τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, προσκηρύττοντες οὐκ εὔνοιαν,
e ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰς | τὰ δεῖπνα χορηγίαν· ἐν οἷς στεφανοῦσθαι καὶ τῶν μαγείρων τοὺς ἄριστα τὰ παρατεθέντα διασκευάσαντας. παρὰ Συβαρίταις δ' εὑρέθησαν καὶ πύελοι, ἐν αἷς κατακείμενοι ἐπυριῶντο. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ ἁμίδας ἐξεῦρον, ἃς εἰσέφερον εἰς τὰ συμπόσια. καταγελῶντες δὲ τῶν ἀποδημούντων ἐκ τῶν πατρίδων αὐτοὶ ἐσεμνύνοντο ἐπὶ τῷ γεγηρακέναι ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ποταμῶν γεφύραις. δοκεῖ δὲ μέγα τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἴτιον εἶναι ὅτι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀλιμένου
f τῆς θαλάσσης παρηκούσης καὶ | τῶν καρπῶν σχεδὸν

outside Italy, they preferred the Ionians, since the Ionians were devoted to a life of luxury.[54] There were over 5000 Sybarite knights, who used to ride in parades wearing saffron-dyed robes over their breastplates, and during the summer their young men visited the washing-places that were sacred to the nymphs of the Lusia River, and spent their time in enormous luxury there. Whenever rich Sybarites made a trip out into the country, even though they were travelling on a wagon, they used to complete the journey—which should have taken a single day—in three; and some of their roads that led out into the country had roofs over them. The majority of them own wine-cellars close to the sea; pipes transport the wine from the fields into these cellars, and some of it is sold for export, while the rest is transported to the city by ship. They also have large numbers of publicly funded feasts, one after another, and they honor individuals who have particularly distinguished themselves with gold garlands, and announce their names at their public sacrifices and games, advertising not the general good-will they have shown, but their specific contribution to the dinners—at which they also offer garlands to the cooks who prepared the best dish! The Sybarites also invented bathtubs, in which they lay down and took steambaths. In addition, they came up with the idea of pisspots, which they carried into their drinking parties. They made fun of people who emigrated from their fatherland, and were proud to grow old on the bridges that spanned their rivers. One significant reason for their wealth appears to be the fact that from the country, since the coast offered no harbor and nearly all the crops were

[54] For Ionian luxury, see 12.524f–6d.

ἁπάντων ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν καταναλισκομένων < . . . > ὅ τε τῆς πόλεως τόπος καὶ ὁ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμὸς συμπαροξῦναι πάντας ἐκτρυφῆσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι ζῆσαι ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον ἐκλελυμένως. ἡ δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἐν κοίλῳ κειμένη τοῦ μὲν θέρους ἔωθέν τε καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ψῦχος ὑπερβάλλον ἔχει, τὸ δὲ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας καῦμα ἀνύποιστον· ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν ὑπειληφέναι πρὸς ὑγίειαν διαφέρειν τοὺς πότους·
520 || ὅθεν καὶ ῥηθῆναι ὅτι τὸν βουλόμενον ἐν Συβάρει μὴ πρὸ μοίρας ἀποθανεῖν οὔτε δυόμενον οὔτε ἀνίσχοντα τὸν ἥλιον ὁρᾶν δεῖ. ἔπεμψαν δέ ποτε καὶ εἰς θεοῦ τοὺς χρησομένους, ὧν ἦν εἷς Ἄμυρις, πυνθανόμενοι μέχρι τίνος εὐδαιμονήσουσι. καὶ ἡ Πυθία ἔφη·

εὐδαίμων, < . . . > σὺ μὲν αἰεὶ |
b ἐν θαλίῃσιν ἔσῃ, τιμῶν γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων.
εὖτ' ἂν δὲ πρότερον θνητὸν θεοῦ ἄνδρα
σεβίσσῃς,
τηνίκα σοι πόλεμός τε καὶ ἔμφυλος στάσις ἥξει.

τούτων ἀκούσαντες ἔδοξαν λέγειν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ὡς οὐδέποτε παύσοιντο τρυφῶντες· οὐδέποτε γὰρ τιμήσειν
c ἄνθρωπον μᾶλλον θεοῦ. ἐγένετ' οὖν αὐτοῖς | τῆς τύχης ἡ μεταβολή, ἐπεί τις τῶν οἰκετῶν τινα μαστιγῶν καὶ τοῦτον καταφυγόντα εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ πάλιν ἐμαστίγου· ὡς δὲ τὸ τελευταῖον κατέδραμεν ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήματα, ἀφῆκεν αἰδεσθείς. ἐξαναλώ-

consumed by the city's residents . . . ; the location of the city and the oracle they had got from the god also appear to have encouraged them all to enjoy a luxurious existence, and to have caused them to live in an enormously dissolute fashion. Since their city is located in a valley, it is very cool at dawn and in the evening during the summer, but unbearably hot at mid-day. As a consequence, most of them concluded that drinking parties were good for their health; hence the saying that anyone in Sybaris who does not want to die before his time should make it a point not to see the sun setting or rising.[55] They once sent some men, one of whom was Amyris, to the god's shrine to get an oracle, and asked how long their prosperity would last. The Pythia said (Delphic Oracle Q122 Fontenrose):

> Lucky one, . . . your parties
> will go on forever, provided you honor the immortals.
> But when you show more respect for a mortal man
> than for a god,
> then war and internal dissent will visit you.

When they heard these words, they thought that the god was telling them that they would go on living in luxury forever, because they would never honor a human being more than a god. Their luck changed, however, when someone was whipping one of his domestic slaves, and after the man escaped into a temple, he resumed whipping him again there. But when the slave finally ran to the tomb of his master's father, the master was embarrassed and let him

[55] Cf. 12.526b.

θησαν δὲ φιλοτιμούμενοι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τρυφαῖς, καὶ ἡ πόλις δὲ πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς ἄλλας ἡμιλλᾶτο περὶ τρυφῆς. εἶτα μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ γινομένων αὐτοῖς σημείων πολλῶν καὶ ἀπωλείας, περὶ ἧς οὐ κατεπείγει λέγειν, διεφθάρησαν. εἰς τηλικοῦτον δ᾽ ἦσαν τρυφῆς ἐληλακότες ὡς καὶ παρὰ τὰς εὐωχίας τοὺς ἵππους ἐθίσαι πρὸς αὐλὸν ὀρχεῖσθαι. τοῦτ᾽ οὖν εἰδότες οἱ Κροτωνιᾶται ὅτε αὐτοῖς ἐπολέμουν, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης
d ἱστορεῖ | διὰ τῆς Πολιτείας αὐτῶν, ἐνέδοσαν τοῖς ἵπποις τὸ ὀρχηστικὸν μέλος· συμπαρῆσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐληταὶ ἐν στρατιωτικῇ σκευῇ. καὶ ἅμα αὐλούντων ἀκούοντες οἱ ἵπποι οὐ μόνον ἐξωρχήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀναβάτας ἔχοντες ηὐτομόλησαν πρὸς τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας. τὰ ὅμοια ἱστόρησε καὶ περὶ Καρδιανῶν ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς Χάρων ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὥρων γράφων οὕτως· Βισάλται εἰς Καρδίην ἐστρατεύσαντο καὶ ἐνίκησαν. ἡγεμὼν δὲ τῶν Βισαλτέων ἦν Νάρις. οὗτος δὲ παῖς ὢν ἐν τῇ Καρδίῃ ἐπράθη καί τινι Καρδιηνῷ δουλεύσας κορσωτὴς ἐγένετο. Καρδιηνοῖς δὲ λόγιον
e ἦν ὡς Βισάλται ἀπίξονται | ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, καὶ πυκνὰ περὶ τούτου διελέγοντο ἐν τῷ κορσωτηρίῳ ἱζάνοντες. καὶ ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς Καρδίης εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τοὺς Βισάλτας ἔστειλεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρδιηνοὺς ἀποδειχθεὶς ἡγεμὼν ὑπὸ τῶν Βισαλτέων. οἱ δὲ Καρδιηνοὶ πάντες τοὺς

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56 Thus showing that he cared more about the judgment of a human being than about that of the gods (although Athenaeus—

go.[56] They wasted their money by trying to outdo one other in the luxury in which they lived, and their city competed in the same way with all the others. Then a bit later on, after they received many warning signs of their destruction (which there is no pressing need to discuss),[57] they were ruined. They had grown so addicted to luxury that they taught their horses to dance to pipe-music at their feasts. The people of Croton knew this, and when they were having a war with Sybaris, according to Aristotle in the *Constitution* dedicated to their city (fr. 600.1), they played dance-music for the horses; for pipe-players in military gear were included in their ranks. As soon as the horses heard them playing the pipes, they not only danced out of their ranks, but actually deserted to the Crotoniates, with their riders on their backs.[58] Charon of Lampsacus in Book II of the *Annals* (*FGrH* 262 F 1) told a similar story about the inhabitants of Cardia, writing as follows: The Bisaltians attacked Cardia and won a victory. The Bisaltian leader was Naris, who had been sold in Cardia when he was a boy and was a slave of one of the locals, and who had become a barber. The Cardians had an oracle to the effect that the Bisaltians would attack them, and they often sat in his barbershop and discussed it. Naris ran away from Cardia to his native land, and after the Bisaltians appointed him to be their commander, he prepared them to attack the Cardians. The Cardians all trained their horses to dance to

who is presumably condensing his source—never makes the point of the story explicit).

[57] But see 12.521f–2a, where the topic is finally taken up after a series of additional loosely connected anecdotes about Sybarite luxury and related topics.

[58] Ael. *NA* 16.23 preserves very similar material.

ἵππους ἐδίδαξαν ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ὀρχεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐλῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπισθίων ποδῶν ἱστάμενοι τοῖς προσθίοις ὠρχοῦντο ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰ αὐλήματα. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐπιστάμενος ὁ Νάρις ἐκτήσατο ἐκ τῆς Καρδίης αὐλητρίδα, καὶ ἀφικομένη ἡ αὐλητρὶς εἰς τοὺς Βισάλτας ἐδίδαξε πολλοὺς αὐλητάς· μεθ' ὧν δὴ καὶ
f στρατεύεται ἐπὶ τὴν Καρδίην. | καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ μάχη συνειστήκει, ἐκέλευσεν αὐλεῖν τὰ αὐλήματα ὅσα οἱ ἵπποι τῶν Καρδιηνῶν ἐξεπισταίατο. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἵπποι τοῦ αὐλοῦ, ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπισθίων ποδῶν καὶ πρὸς ὀρχησμὸν ἐτράποντο. τῶν δὲ Καρδιηνῶν ἡ
521 ἰσχὺς ἐν τῇ ἵππῳ ἦν, καὶ οὕτως ἐνικήθησαν. || Συβαριτῶν δέ τις εἰς Κρότωνά ποτε διαπλεῦσαι βουληθεὶς ἐκ τῆς Συβάρεως ἰδιόστολον ἐναυλώσατο πλοῖον, ἐφ' ᾧ οὔτε ῥαντισθήσεται οὔτ' ἐμβήσεται ἕτερος καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν ἵππον ἀναλήψεται. τοῦ δ' οὕτως συμφωνήσαντος ἐνεβίβασέν τε τὸν ἵππον καὶ ὑποστορέσαι τῷ ζώῳ ἐκέλευσεν. ἔπειτα τινὸς τῶν προπεμπόντων ἐδεῖτο συμπλεῦσαι αὐτῷ, λέγων ὅτι "προδιεστειλάμην τῷ πορθμεῖ ἵνα παρὰ τὴν γῆν πλέῃ," ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "μόλις ἄν σου ὑπήκουσα, εἰ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔμελλες πεζεύειν καὶ μὴ παρὰ τὴν γῆν πλεῖν." Φύλαρ-
b χος δ' | ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν εἰπὼν ὅτι παρὰ Συρακοσίοις νόμος ἦν τὰς γυναῖκας μὴ κοσμεῖσθαι χρυσῷ μηδ' ἀνθινὰ φορεῖν μηδ' ἐσθῆτας ἔχειν πορφυρᾶς ἐχούσας παρυφάς, ἐὰν μή τις αὐτῶν συγχωρῇ ἑταίρα εἶναι κοινή, καὶ ὅτι ἄλλος ἦν νόμος

pipe-music at their drinking parties; the horses stood on their hind feet and danced with their fore-feet, and were thoroughly familiar with pipe-music. Since Naris knew this, he got a pipe-girl from Cardia, and when she arrived in Bisaltia, she trained a large number of men to play the pipes. Naris took these men with him when he attacked Cardia, and once the battle was underway, he ordered them to play the pipe-songs the Cardians' horses were familiar with; when the horses heard the pipes, they stood on their hind feet and began to dance. The Cardians' strength was in their cavalry, and they were accordingly defeated. At one point a Sybarite wanted to sail across to Croton from Sybaris and hired a private vessel, on the condition that he would not get wet and that no one else would be allowed on board, and also that his horse could accompany him. The captain agreed to his terms, so he got his horse onboard and ordered them to make a bed for the animal. He then asked one of the people who had accompanied him to the shore to join him on his voyage, saying "I made arrangements with the ferryman ahead of time, to get him to sail by the coast." The other man responded: "I would almost have accepted your proposal, if you were going to walk by sea rather than sail by the shore."[59] Phylarchus in Book XXV of his *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 45) claims that there was a law in Syracuse that no woman was allowed to put on gold jewelry, wear bright-colored clothing, or own a garment with a purple border, unless she admitted that she was a common prostitute, and that they had another law to

[59] The point of the remark (which depends on a weak pun on two senses of the preposition *para*), and how it connects to the Sybarite's concern for the comfort of his horse, is unclear.

τὸν ἄνδρα μὴ καλλωπίζεσθαι μηδ' ἐσθῆτι περιέργῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ διαλλαττούσῃ, ἐὰν μὴ ὁμολογῇ μοιχεύειν ἢ κίναιδος εἶναι, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθέραν μὴ ἐκπορεύεσθαι ἡλίου δεδυκότος, ἐὰν μὴ μοιχευθησομένην·
c ἐκωλύετο δὲ καὶ ἡμέρας ἐξιέναι ἄνευ τῶν | γυναικονόμων ἀκολουθούσης αὐτῇ μιᾶς θεραπαινίδος. Συβαρῖται, φησίν, ἐξοκείλαντες εἰς τρυφὴν ἔγραψαν νόμον τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς καλεῖν καὶ τοὺς εἰς τὰς θυσίας καλοῦντας πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν παρασκευὴν[18] ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ἀξίως ποιούμενοι τοῦ χρόνου[19] τῶν τε ἱματίων καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ κόσμου προάγωσιν οὕτως εἰς τὰς κλήσεις. εἰ δέ τις τῶν ὀψοποιῶν ἢ μαγείρων ἴδιον εὕροι βρῶμα καὶ περιττόν, τὴν ἐξουσίαν μὴ εἶναι χρήσασθαι τούτῳ πρὸ[20] ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀλλ' ‹ἢ›[21] αὐτῷ τῷ εὑρόντι, τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὅπως ὁ πρῶτος εὑρὼν καὶ
d τὴν | ἐργασίαν ἔχῃ, πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους φιλοπονοῦντας αὑτοὺς ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τοῖς τοιούτοις. ὡσαύτως δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς τὰς ἐγχέλεις πωλοῦντας τέλος ἀποτίνειν μηδὲ τοὺς θηρεύοντας. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοὺς τὴν πορφύραν τὴν θαλαττίαν βάπτοντας καὶ τοὺς εἰσάγοντας ἀτελεῖς ἐποίησαν. πάνυ οὖν ἐξοκείλαντες εἰς

[18] *κλῆσιν* Casaubon [19] *ποιούμεναι τοῦ χρόνου ‹τὴν παρασκευὴν›* Casaubon, cf. Plu. *Mor.* 147e
[20] *ἕτερον πρὸ* ACE: *ἕτερον* del. Wilamowitz
[21] add. Wilamowitz

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[60] This peculiar expression appears again and again in this Book (e.g. 12.521d, 522a, 523c, 526a, 528b).

the effect that no man was allowed to fuss about his appearance or wear elaborate or unusual clothing, unless he was willing to concede that he was trying to seduce women or was a pervert, and also that no free woman was allowed to leave her house after sundown, unless she was going to meet a lover. Women were also forbidden to go out during the day without the permission of the Supervisors of Women, and had to have at least one servant-girl following them. When the Sybarites, he says, ran aground on the reef of luxury,[60] they passed a law to the effect that they would invite their wives to their festivals, and that anyone who issued invitations to a sacrificial feast was to make the arrangements at least a year in advance, so that the guests could take full advantage of the time needed to prepare their clothing and everything else they were intended to wear, and could then respond to the summons.[61] And if one of their chefs or cooks invented an exceptional new dish, no one was permitted to make it for a year except the man who came up with it, in order that the inventor would have the exclusive right to produce it for that period, the goal being to encourage other individuals to work hard to outdo themselves in this area. In a similar way, their eel-vendors were not required to pay taxes, and neither were the people who caught the eels; and in the same spirit they made the men who dyed fabric with sea-purple or who imported it exempt from taxation. In the end,[62] after they had completely run aground on the reef of outrageous behav-

[61] Cf. Plu. *Mor.* 147e.

[62] Athenaeus now returns to the story of the destruction of Sybaris (in 510 BCE) abruptly abandoned at 12.520c.

ὕβριν τὸ τελευταῖον παρὰ Κροτωνιατῶν τριάκοντα πρεσβευτῶν ἡκόντων ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτειναν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους τὰ σώματα ἐξέρριψαν καὶ ὑπὸ θηρίων
e εἴασαν διαφθαρῆναι. | αὕτη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἐγένετο ἀρχὴ μηνίσαντος τοῦ δαιμονίου. ἔδοξαν γοῦν μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας πάντες αὐτῶν οἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν ὄψιν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτί· τὴν γὰρ Ἥραν ἰδόντες ἐλθοῦσαν εἰς μέσην τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐμοῦσαν χολήν, ἀνέβλυσεν δὲ καὶ αἵματος πηγὴ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτῆς. καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἔληξαν τῆς ὑπερηφανίας, ἕως πάντες ὑπὸ Κροτωνιατῶν ἀπώλοντο. Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Δικαιοσύνης φησίν· Συβαρῖται τὴν Τήλυος τυραννίδα καταλύσαντες τοὺς μετασχόν-
f τας | τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναιροῦντες καὶ φονεύοντες ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἅπαντας.[22] καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς φόνοις τούτοις ἀπεστράφη μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ἄγαλμα, τὸ δὲ ἔδαφος ἀνῆκε πηγὴν αἵματος, ὥστε τὸν σύνεγγυς ἅπαντα τόπον κατεχάλκωσαν θυρίσι, βουλόμενοι στῆσαι τὴν τοῦ αἵματος ἀναφοράν. διόπερ ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο καὶ διεφθάρησαν ἅπαντες, οἱ καὶ τὸν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ||
522 τῶν πάνυ ἀγῶνα ἀμαυρῶσαι ἐθελήσαντες· καθ' ὃν γὰρ ἄγεται καιρὸν ἐπιτηρήσαντες ἄθλων ὑπερβολῇ ὡς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν ἐπεχείρουν τοὺς ἀθλητάς.

Καὶ Κροτωνιᾶται δ', ὥς φησι Τίμαιος, μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεῖν Συβαρίτας ἐξώκειλαν εἰς τρυφήν· ὥστε καὶ τὸν

[22] ἅπαντας Olson: ἅπαντες A

ior, when 30 ambassadors arrived from Croton, they executed all of them, threw their bodies outside the city walls, and allowed them to be torn apart by wild animals. This was the beginning of their troubles, because divine resentment was provoked. A few days later, at any rate, all the Sybarite magistrates had the same dream on the same night: for they saw Hera walk into the middle of the marketplace and vomit bile, and a spring of blood suddenly appeared inside her temple. But even after this they did not stop behaving arrogantly, until the people of Croton killed them all. Heracleides of Pontus says in his *On Justice* (fr. 49 Wehrli = fr. 22 Schütrumpf): After the Sybarites overthrew Telys' tyranny,[63] they began killing the people who had participated in his government, murdering them all on the altars. Hera's statue responded to these murders by turning away, and a spring of blood emerged from the floor, requiring them to cover the entire area around it with bronze plates in an attempt to stop the blood from welling up. The result was that they were all driven out of their city and ruined—people who had also wanted to diminish the glory of the important games at Olympia; because they waited until the time when the games were celebrated, and then used extremely large prizes to try to lure the athletes to their own city instead.[64]

After the inhabitants of Croton eliminated the Sybarites, according to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 44), they too ran aground on the reef of luxury, to the extent that their

[63] For Telys, who provoked the crisis with Croton by expelling his political rivals from Sybaris, cf. Hdt. 5.44; D.S. 12.9.2–3.

[64] The only prize awarded to Olympic victors was a crown of wild olive.

ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν περιέναι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἁλουργίδα
ἠμφιεσμένον καὶ ἐστεφανωμένον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ,
ὑποδεδεμένον λευκὰς κρηπῖδας. οἱ δὲ οὐ διὰ τρυφήν
φασι τοῦτο γεγονέναι, ἀλλὰ διὰ Δημοκήδη τὸν
b ἰατρόν· ὃς τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Κροτωνιάτης, | Πολυκράτει
δὲ τῷ Σαμίων τυράννῳ συνὼν καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου
θάνατον αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς ὑπὸ Περσῶν ἀνήχθη ὡς βα-
σιλέα, Ὀροίτου τὸν Πολυκράτη ἀποκτείναντος. θερα-
πεύσας δ' ὁ Δημοκήδης Ἄτοσσαν τὴν Δαρείου μὲν
γυναῖκα, Κύρου δὲ θυγατέρα, τὸν μαστὸν ἀλγήσα-
σαν, ᾔτησε ταύτην δωρεὰν καταπεμφθῆναι εἰς τὴν
Ἑλλάδα ὡς ἐπανελευσόμενος· καὶ τυχὼν ἦκεν εἰς
Κρότωνα. βουλομένου τε αὐτόθι καταμένειν, ἐπιλαβο-
c μένου τινὸς τῶν Περσῶν καὶ | λέγοντος ὅτι βασιλέως
εἴη δοῦλος, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀφείλαντο οἱ Κροτωνιᾶται,
ἐκδύσαντες δὲ τὴν στολὴν τοῦ Πέρσου ἐνέδυσαν τὸν
ὑπηρέτην τοῦ πρυτανεύοντος. ἐξ οὗ δὴ Περσικὴν ἔχων
στολὴν περιέρχεται ταῖς ἑβδόμαις τοὺς βωμοὺς μετὰ
τοῦ πρυτάνεως, οὐ τρυφῆς χάριν οὐδὲ ὕβρεως, ἀλλ'
ἐπηρείας τῆς εἰς τοὺς Πέρσας τοῦτο πράττοντες. ὕστε-
ρον δὲ καὶ οἱ Κροτωνιᾶται, φησὶν ὁ Τίμαιος, ἐπεχείρη-
σαν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν πανήγυριν καταλῦσαι, τῷ αὐτῷ
d χρόνῳ προθέντες ἀργυρικὸν | σφόδρα πλούσιον ἀγῶ-
να. οἱ δὲ Συβαρίτας τοῦτο ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν.

Ταραντίνους δέ φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν τετάρτῳ Βίων

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65 Hdt. 3.125–37 offers a considerably more elaborate version of the story.

chief magistrate walked around the city wearing a sea-purple robe, with a gold garland on his head and high white boots on his feet. But other authorities claim this was not a consequence of an addiction to luxury, but happened because of Democedes the physician.[65] His family was from Croton, but he spent time with Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, and after Polycrates' death he was captured by the Persians and taken inland to the King, after Oroetus killed Polycrates.[66] When Democedes cured Atossa, who was Darius' wife and the daughter of Cyrus, and who had a pain in her breast, he asked to be sent back to Greece as his reward, although he pretended that he planned to return. His request was granted, and he arrived in Croton; but although he wanted to remain there, a Persian arrested him and claimed that he was the King's slave. The Crotoniates, however, took Democedes away from him, and stripped off the Persian's clothing and put it on their chief official's assistant. Ever since then he wears Persian clothing when he makes the rounds of the altars on the seventh day of the month along with the chief official, and they do this not because of an addiction to luxury or ugly behavior, but as a way of insulting the Persians. Later on the Crotoniates as well, according to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 45), tried to disrupt the Olympic festival by proposing an extravagant set of games featuring cash prizes, to be held at the same time. But other authorities claim that it was the Sybarites who did this.[67]

According to Clearchus in Book IV of the *Lives* (fr. 48

[66] *c.*522 BCE. Oroetus was a Persian satrap who lured Polycrates to his death, and Democedes was captured along with him.

[67] Cf. 12.521f–2a.

ἀλκὴν καὶ δύναμιν κτησαμένους εἰς τοσοῦτο τρυφῆς προελθεῖν ὥστε τὸν ὅλον χρῶτα παραλελοίνεσθαι καὶ τῆς ψιλώσεως ταύτης τοῖς λοιποῖς κατάρξαι. ἐφόρουν δέ, φησίν, καὶ παρυφίδα διαφανῆ πάντες, οἷς νῦν ὁ τῶν γυναικῶν ἁβρύνεται βίος. ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ τῆς τρυφῆς εἰς ὕβριν ποδηγηθέντες ἀνάστατον μίαν πό-
e λιν Ἰαπύγων ἐποίησαν | Κάρβιναν, ἐξ ἧς παῖδας καὶ παρθένους καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀκμῇ γυναῖκας ἀθροίσαντες εἰς τὰ τῶν Καρβινατῶν ἱερὰ σκηνοποιησάμενοι γυμνὰ πᾶσι τῆς ἡμέρας τὰ σώματα παρεῖχον θεωρεῖν· καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος καθάπερ εἰς ἀτυχῆ παραπηδῶν ἀγέλην ἐθοινᾶτο ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τὴν τῶν ἀθροισθέντων ὥραν, πάντων μὲν ὁρώντων, μάλιστα δὲ ὧν ἥκιστα ἐκεῖνοι προσεδόκων θεῶν. οὕτω δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἠγανάκτησεν ὥστε Ταραντίνων τοὺς ἐν Καρβίνῃ παρανομήσαντας
f ἐκεραύνωσεν | πάντας. καὶ μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐν Τάραντι ἑκάστη τῶν οἰκιῶν ὅσους ὑπεδέξατο τῶν εἰς Ἰαπυγίαν ἐκπεμφθέντων τοσαύτας ἔχει στήλας πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν· ἐφ' αἷς καθ' ὃν ἀπώλοντο χρόνον οὔτ' οἰκτίζονται τοὺς ἀποιχομένους οὔτε τὰς νομίμους χέονται χοάς, ἀλλὰ θύουσι Διὶ Καταιβάτῃ.

Ἰαπύγων τε αὖ τὸ γένος ἐκ Κρήτης ὄντων κατὰ Γλαύκου ζήτησιν ἀφικομένων καὶ κατοικησάντων, οἱ
523 || μετὰ τούτους λήθην λαβόντες τῆς Κρητῶν περὶ τὸν βίον εὐκοσμίας εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς, εἶθ' ὕστερον ὕβρεως

Wehrli), after the inhabitants of Tarentum acquired power and influence, they became so seriously addicted to luxury that they removed all the hair from their bodies and introduced this practice of depilation to everyone else. He also claims that they all wore diaphanous purple robes—the type pampered women wear today. But later on their addiction to luxury led them to behave in a terrible way, when they destroyed Carbina, which was one of the Iapygian cities. They assembled the city's boys and girls and the younger married women in the temples in Carbina and put on a show, allowing everyone to inspect their naked bodies during the course of the day; and whoever wanted to could leap into this unfortunate herd, as it were, and glut his desire on the youthful beauty of the individuals crowded together there, while everyone watched—especially those they least expected would be watching, that is, the gods. Such terrible divine wrath was awoken that all the Tarentines who had behaved criminally in Carbina were blasted with lightning; even today in Tarentum every house has a column in front of its door for each individual who participated in the expedition to Carbina that it harbored. And on the anniversary of their destruction, they neither lament for those who died at these columns nor pour out the usual libations there, but instead sacrifice to Zeus Kataibatês.[68]

The Iapygians were originally from Crete, but came looking for Glaucus[69] and settled down. Their descendants, however, forgot the orderly way of life on Crete and grew so addicted to luxury, and after that to outrageous

[68] Literally "the Descender," i.e. "Lord of the Lightning"; see Olson on Ar. *Pax* 41–2. [69] Which of the various mythical Glaucuses is being referred to is unclear; cf. 7.296a–7c.

ἦλθον ὥστε πρῶτοι τὸ πρόσωπον ἐντριψάμενοι καὶ προκόμια περιθετὰ[23] λαβόντες στολὰς μὲν ἀνθινὰς φορῆσαι, τὸ δὲ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ πονεῖν αἰσχρὸν νομίσαι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν καλλίονας τὰς οἰκίας
b ποιῆσαι τῶν ἱερῶν, | τοὺς δ' ἡγεμόνας τῶν Ἰαπύγων ἐφυβρίζοντας τὸ θεῖον πορθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλματα, προειπόντας μεθίστασθαι τοῖς κρείττοσιν. διόπερ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βαλλόμενοι πυρὶ καὶ χαλκῷ ταύτην διέδοσαν τὴν φήμην· ἐφάνη γὰρ ἦν μέχρι πόρρω κεχαλκευμένα τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βελῶν. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνων μέχρι τήμερον ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένοι
c καὶ πένθιμον στολὴν ἀμπεχόμενοι ζῶσιν, | πάντων τῶν πρὶν ὑπαρξάντων ἀγαθῶν σπανίζοντες.

Ἴβηρες δὲ καίτοι ἐν τραγικαῖς στολαῖς καὶ ποικίλαις προϊόντες καὶ χιτῶσι ποδήρεσι χρώμενοι οὐδὲν ἐμποδίζονται τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ῥώμης. Μασσαλιῶται δ' ἐθηλύνθησαν οἱ τὸν αὐτὸν Ἴβηρσι τῆς ἐσθῆτος φοροῦντες κόσμον. ἀσχημονοῦσι γοῦν διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς μαλακίαν καὶ τρυφὴν γυναικοπαθοῦντες· ὅθεν καὶ παροιμία παρῆλθε "πλεύσειας εἰς Μασσαλίαν."

Καὶ οἱ τὴν Σῖριν δὲ κατοικοῦντες, ἣν πρῶτοι κατέσχον οἱ ἀπὸ Τροίας ἐλθόντες, ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ Κολοφωνίων < . . . >, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης, εἰς
d τρυφὴν ἐξώκειλαν οὐχ ἧσσον Συβαριτῶν· καὶ γὰρ | ἰδίως παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπεχωρίασεν φορεῖν ἀνθινοὺς χιτῶ-

[23] περιθετὰ CE: περιθετά τε A

behavior, that they became the first people to smear cosmetics on their faces and to wear wigs; they also wore colorful clothes and regarded working hard and engaging in physical labor as embarrassing. Many of them made their homes more beautiful than their temples, while the Iapygian leaders demonstrated their contempt for the divine by removing the gods' statues from their temples and telling their betters[70] to move elsewhere. They were accordingly blasted from the sky with fire and bronze, and they passed on the story about what happened; because for a long time afterward chunks of metal produced by the blasts from the sky were on display there. All their descendants even today keep their heads shaved and spend their lives dressed in mourning, and they have very few of the fine possessions they once owned.

The Iberians in fact go out dressed in elaborate robes that resemble those worn in tragedy, and wear tunics that hang to their feet, although this has no negative effect on their strength in war. The Massaliotes, on the other hand, who wear the same costume as the Iberians, became effeminate. The weakness and addiction to luxury in their hearts, at any rate, has led to them behaving in an ugly way and allowing themselves to be treated like women, hence the proverb "I hope you sail to Massalia!"[71]

The inhabitants of Siris, which was initially settled by refugees from Troy, although later by Colophonians . . . , according to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 51) and Aristotle (fr. 601), also wrecked themselves on the reef of luxury at least as badly as the Sybarites did. Because it became their particular local custom to wear brightly colored tunics

[70] The gods. [71] I.e. "Go get fucked!"

νας, οὓς ἐζώννυντο μίτραις πολυτελέσιν, καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων μιτροχίτωνες, ἐπεὶ Ὅμηρος τοὺς ἀζώστους ἀμιτροχίτωνας καλεῖ. καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος δ' ὁ ποιητὴς ὑπερτεθαύμακε τὴν χώραν τῶν Σιριτῶν διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν. περὶ γοῦν τῆς Θάσου λέγων ὡς ἥσσονός φησιν·

οὐ γάρ τι καλὸς χῶρος οὐδ' ἐφίμερος
οὐδ' ἐρατός, οἷος ἀμφὶ Σίριος ῥοάς.

ὠνομάσθη δ' ἡ Σῖρις, ὡς μὲν Τίμαιός φησιν καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Δεσμώτιδι Μελανίππῃ,[24] ἀπὸ γυναικός
e τινος Σίριδος· ὡς δ' Ἀρχίλοχος, ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ. | οὐκ ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸς τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τοῦ σύμπαντος τούτου κλίματος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐγένετο τῶν ἀνθρώπων· διὸ καὶ Μεγάλη Ἑλλὰς ἐκλήθη πᾶσα σχεδὸν ἡ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοίκησις.

Μιλήσιοι δ' ἕως μὲν οὐκ ἐτρύφων, ἐνίκων Σκύθας, ὥς φησιν Ἔφορος, καὶ τάς τε ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις ἔκτισαν καὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον κατῴκισαν πόλεσι λαμπραῖς, καὶ πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν Μίλητον ἔθεον. ὡς δὲ ὑπήχθησαν ἡδονῇ καὶ τρυφῇ, κατερρύη τὸ τῆς πόλεως
f ἀνδρεῖον, φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, | καὶ παροιμία τις ἐγεννήθη ἐπ' αὐτῶν·

πάλαι ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι.

[24] Δεσμώτιδι ἢ Μελανίππῃ A: ἢ del. Schweighäuser

72 Literally "Big Greece," i.e. "Magna Graecia."

(*chitones*), which they fastened around their waists with expensive bands (*mitrai*), and their neighbors accordingly began to refer to them as *mitrochitônes*, since Homer (*Il.* 16.419) calls people who do not wear belts *amitrochitônes*. The poet Archilochus (fr. 22 West²) was also extremely impressed by how prosperous the Siritians' territory was. He describes Thasos, at any rate, as inferior to it:

> Because this territory is not as nice, or as desirable,
> or as lovely as that around the streams of the Siris.

According to Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 52) and Euripides in *Melanippe the Captive* (fr. 496), Siris got its name from a woman called Siris; but according to Archilochus, the name came from a river. The population was quite substantial, matching the luxury and prosperity of the region as a whole; this is why virtually the entire portion of Italy inhabited (by Greeks) was referred to as Megalê Hellas.[72]

As long as the Milesians were not addicted to luxury, they maintained the upper hand over the Scythians, according to Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 183), and founded their cities on the Hellespont and established gorgeous settlements around the Euxine Sea;[73] all these places were subject to Milesian authority. But after they succumbed to pleasure and luxury, their city's courage collapsed, according to Aristotle (fr. 565.1), and a proverb was coined that referred to them:[74]

> Once long ago the Milesians were valiant men.

[73] Miletus founded large numbers of colonies in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE.

[74] Cf. Ar. *Pl.* 1002 with Sommerstein ad loc.

Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Δικαιοσύνης φησίν· ἡ Μιλησίων πόλις περιπέπτωκεν ἀτυχίαις διὰ τρυφὴν βίου καὶ πολιτικὰς ἔχθρας· οἳ τὸ
524 ἐπιεικὲς οὐκ ἀγαπῶντες ἐκ ῥιζῶν || ἀνεῖλον τοὺς ἐχθρούς. στασιαζόντων γὰρ τῶν τὰς οὐσίας ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖνοι Γέργιθας ἐκάλουν, πρῶτον μὲν κρατήσας ὁ δῆμος καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἐκβαλὼν καὶ συναγαγὼν τὰ τέκνα τῶν φυγόντων εἰς ἁλωνίας βοῦς εἰσαγαγόντες συνηλοίησαν καὶ παρανομωτάτῳ θανάτῳ διέφθειραν. τοιγάρτοι πάλιν οἱ πλούσιοι κρατήσαντες ἅπαντας ὧν κύριοι κατέστησαν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων κατεπίττωσαν· ὧν καιομένων φασὶν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ γενέσθαι τέρατα καὶ ἐλαίαν
b ἱερὰν αὐτομάτην | ἀναφθῆναι. διόπερ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπήλαυνεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ μαντείου καὶ ἐπερωτώντων διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἀπελαύνονται εἶπεν·

καί μοι Γεργίθων τε φόνος μέλει ἀπτολεμίστων
πισσήρων τε μόρος καὶ δένδρεον αἰεὶ ἀθαλλές.

Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν τετάρτῳ Βίων ζηλώσαντάς φησι τοὺς Μιλησίους τὴν Κολοφωνίων τρυφὴν διαδοῦναι καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις, ἔπειτ' ὀνειδιζομένους λέγειν ἑαυ-
c τοῖς· "οἴκοι τὰ Μιλήσια κἀπιχώρια καὶ | μὴ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ."

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[75] See How and Wells on Hdt. 7.43.2.

[76] Cf. Zenob. 5.57 (who preserves a different story about the origin of the saying).

Heracleides of Pontus says in Book II of *On Justice* (fr. 50 Wehrli = fr. 23 Schütrumpf): The city of Miletus got into trouble because of their luxurious lifestyle and political animosities, since they felt no interest in behaving reasonably, and instead annihilated their enemies. For when a civil war was going on between the people who owned property and average citizens—the former referred to the latter as Gergithes[75]—initially the average citizens dominated, and they expelled the rich from the city, and then collected the exiles' children in threshing-yards, and drove oxen in and crushed them to death, killing them in the most criminal fashion possible. When the rich in turn got the upper hand, therefore, they smeared pitch on everyone they captured, along with their children; when they were burned, people say, among the many other marvels that occurred, a sacred olive tree spontaneously caught fire. This is why the god for many years refused to admit the Milesians to his oracular shrine, and when they asked why they were banned from it, he said (Didyma Oracle 3 Fontenrose):

> I am in fact concerned about both the murder of the
> peaceful Gergithes,
> and their fate when they were smeared with pitch,
> and the tree that will never flourish again.

Clearchus in Book IV of the *Lives* (fr. 45 Wehrli) claims that the Milesians imitated the Colophonians' addiction to luxury and transmitted it to their neighbors, and that when they were criticized they said to themselves: "Milesian practices belong at home in our own country, not out in public."[76]

Καὶ περὶ Σκυθῶν δ' ἑξῆς ὁ Κλέαρχος τάδε ἱστορεῖ· μόνον δὲ νόμοις κοινοῖς πρῶτον ἔθνος ἐχρήσατο τὸ Σκυθῶν· εἶτα πάλιν ἐγένοντο πάντων ἀθλιώτατοι βροτῶν διὰ τὴν ὕβριν. ἐτρύφησαν μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐδένες ἕτεροι, τῶν πάντων εὐροίας καὶ πλούτου καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς αὐτοὺς χορηγίας κατασχούσης. τοῦτο δὲ δῆλον ἐκ τῆς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπολειπούσης περὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν ἐσθῆτός τε καὶ διαίτης. τρυφήσαντες δὲ καὶ
d μάλιστα δὴ καὶ πρῶτοι πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων | ἐπὶ τὸ τρυφᾶν ὁρμήσαντες εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθον ὕβρεως ὥστε πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς οὓς ἀφίκοιντο ἠκρωτηρίαζον τὰς ῥῖνας· ἀφ' ὧν οἱ ἀπόγονοι μεταστάντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τὰς Θρᾳκῶν τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέραν καὶ ἄρκτον περιοίκων[25] γυναῖκας ἐποίκιλλον τὰ σώματα, περόναις γραφὴν ἐνεῖσαι. ὅθεν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον αἱ ὑβρισθεῖσαι τῶν Θρᾳκῶν γυναῖκες ἰδίως ἐξ-
e ηλείψαντο τὴν συμφορὰν | προσκαταγραψάμεναι τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ χρωτός, ἵν' ὁ τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἐπ' αὐταῖς χαρακτὴρ εἰς ποικιλίαν καταριθμηθεὶς κόσμου προσηγορίᾳ τοὔνειδος ἐξαλείψῃ. πάντων δὲ οὕτως ὑπερηφάνως προέστησαν ὥστε οὐδένων ἄδακρυς ἡ τῆς δουλείας ὑπουργία γιγνομένη διήγγειλεν εἰς τοὺς ἐπιγινομένους τὴν ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ῥῆσιν οἵα τις

[25] *τῶν περιοίκων* A: del. Wyttenbach

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77 The reference is to the Rhinocolouritai ("Dock-Noses"), who lived in southern Palestine; cf. Str. 16.759; St. Byz. p. 545.9–12 Meineke.

Immediately after this, Clearchus (fr. 46 Wehrli) offers the following information about the Scythians as well: The Scythians were the first people to rely exclusively on laws that applied to everyone. But then they became, by contrast, the most miserable people in the world due to their outrageous behavior. Because they were more addicted to luxury than anyone ever had been, since the abundance of everything, and their wealth, and their access to anything they needed overwhelmed them. This is apparent from the way their leaders continue to dress and live even today. They were profoundly addicted to luxury and were the first people to rush headlong into this style of life; they became so arrogant that they cut off the noses of everyone whose territory they invaded. The descendants of their victims moved elsewhere, but even now their name comes from what was done to them.[77] The Scythian women tattooed the bodies of the wives of the Thracians who lived to the west and north of them, using pins to produce the designs. As a consequence, many years later the Thracian women who had been mistreated independently erased the marks inflicted on them, by writing over the rest of their skin, so that the signs of outrage and shame that covered them could, by being converted into something more elaborate, wipe out the insult via the term "ornamentation." The Scythians dominated everyone so high-handedly that whatever their slaves did was accompanied by tears, making the meaning of the saying "from the Scythians" apparent to everyone thereafter.[78] As a result of the enormous

[78] Cf. Hdt. 4.127.4, where an apparently intrusive remark identifies the phrase *klaiein legô* (literally "I tell you to wail," i.e. "to go to Hell") as "the saying from the Scythians"; D.L. 1.101.

ἦν. διὰ τὸ πλῆθος οὖν τῶν κατασχουσῶν αὐτοὺς συμφορῶν, ἐπεὶ διὰ τὸ πένθος ἅμα τόν τε τῶν βίων ὄλβον καὶ τὰς κόμας περιεσπάσθησαν, παντὸς ἔθνους
f | οἱ ἔξω τὴν ἐφ' ὕβρει κουρὰν ἀπεσκυθίσθαι προσηγόρευσαν.

Τοὺς δὲ σύμπαντας Ἴωνας ἐπισκώπτων Καλλίας ἢ Διοκλῆς ἐν Κύκλωψί φησιν·

τί γὰρ ἡ τρυφερὰ καὶ καλλιτράπεζος Ἰωνία; εἶφ' ὅτι πράσσει.

καὶ Ἀβυδηνοὶ—Μιλησίων δ' εἰσὶν ἄποικοι—ἀνειμένοι τὴν δίαιτάν εἰσιν καὶ κατεαγότες, ὡς παρίστησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐν Στρατιώταις·

(Α.) χαῖρ', ὦ διαπόντιον
στράτευμα, τί πράττομεν;
† τὰ μὲν πρὸς ὄψιν μαλακῶς
ἔχειν ἀπὸ σώματος † ||
525 κόμῃ τε νεανικῇ
σφρίγει τε βραχιόνων.
(Β.) ᾔσθου τὸν Ἄβυδον ὡς
ἀνὴρ γεγένηται;

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Τριφάλητι παρακωμῳδῶν πολλοὺς τῶν Ἰώνων·

ἔπειθ' ὅσοι παρῆσαν ἐπίσημοι ξένοι

number of troubles that overwhelmed them, because their grief led to the loss of both their prosperous lifestyle and their hair, the members of all ethnic groups outside their territory referred to the haircut inflicted on people to humiliate them as *aposkuthisthai*.[79]

Callias (fr. 8) or Diocles in *Cyclopes*[80] makes fun of the Ionians as a group, saying:

> What about luxury-loving, fine-dining Ionia? Tell me
> how it's doing!

The inhabitants of Abydus—they are Milesian colonists—also have a casual and depraved way of life, as Hermippus establishes in *Female Soldiers* (fr. 57):

> (A.) Greetings, overseas
> battalion! How are we doing?
> † as for what involves appearance to be
> soft from a body †
> and with the long hair young men favor
> and muscular arms.
> (B.) Did you notice how the guy from Abydus
> has turned into a man?

Also Aristophanes in *Triphales* (fr. 556), poking fun at many of the Ionians:

> Then all the important foreigners who were there

[79] "to be Scythized, made to look like a Scythian," i.e. "to have one's head shaved."

[80] Athenaeus (or his source) expresses similar doubts about the authorship of the play at 4.140e; 15.667d, but assigns it unambiguously to Callias at 7.285e, 286a; 11.487a.

ἐπηκολούθουν κἠντεβόλουν προσκείμενοι
"ὅκως ἔχων τὸν παῖδα πωλήσει ᾽ς Χίον,"
ἕτερος δ᾽ "ὅκως ἐς Κλαζομενάς," ἕτερος δ᾽
"ὅκως |
b ἐς Ἔφεσον," ὁ δ᾽ "ἐς Ἄβυδον." ἦν δ᾽ † ἐκεῖνα
πανθόδω †.

περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου Λοιδορίας γράφει οὕτως· ἐπειδὴ ἐδοκιμάσθης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, παραλαβὼν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τὰ σαυτοῦ χρήματα ᾤχου ἀποπλέων εἰς Ἄβυδον, οὔτε χρέος ἴδιον σαυτοῦ πραξόμενος οὐδὲν οὔτε προξενίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἕνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ σαυτοῦ παρανομίᾳ καὶ ἀκολασίᾳ τῆς γνώμης ὁμοίους ἔργων τρόπους μαθησόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ γυναικῶν, ὅπως ἐν τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ
c βίῳ σαυτοῦ ἔχοις χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς. | ἀπώλοντο δὲ καὶ Μάγνητες οἱ πρὸς τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ διὰ τὸ πλέον ἀνεθῆναι, ὥς φησι Καλλῖνος ἐν τοῖς Ἐλεγείοις καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος· ἑάλωσαν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἐφεσίων. καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Ἐφεσίων Δημόκριτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ναοῦ διηγούμενος περὶ τῆς χλιδῆς αὐτῶν καὶ ὧν ἐφόρουν βαπτῶν ἱματίων γράφει καὶ τάδε· τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων ἰοβαφῆ καὶ πορφυρᾶ καὶ κρόκινα ῥόμβοις ὑφαντά· αἱ δὲ κεφαλαὶ κατ᾽ ἴσα

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81 Literally "because of a *proxenia*," a relationship in which an influential individual in one city served as a semi-official representative of the interests of another city.

started following me around and making insistent
requests:
"Now that you've got the boy, please sell him on
Chios!"
Someone else: "No—in Clazomenae!" And another
person: "No—
in Ephesus!" And this guy: "In Abydus!" There was
[corrupt].

As for the inhabitants of Abydus, Antiphon in his *Against Alcibiades for Slander* (fr. 67 Blass–Thalheim) writes as follows: After your guardians certified you as an adult, you got your money from them and left and sailed off to Abydus, not in order to collect some private debt you were owed, or because you had an official relationship with them,[81] but so that Abydus' women could teach you types of behavior that matched your personal lawlessness and your reckless style, allowing you to behave this way for the rest of your life. The Magnesians who lived beside the Maeander were also ruined by their enormous dissipation, according to Callinus in his *Elegies* (fr. 3 West²) and Archilochus (fr. 20 West²); because their city was captured by the Ephesians.[82] As for the Ephesians themselves, Democritus of Ephesus in Book I of *On the Temple in Ephesus* (*FGrH* 267 F 1) offers an account of their decadence and of the colorful robes they wore, writing as follows: The Ionians' robes are dyed violet, purple, and saffron, and have lozenge-shapes woven into them; animal-

[82] Cf. Str. 14.647–8, who offers more details about the passage in Callinus and quotes the Archilochus, making it clear the events in question occurred probably in the mid-7th century BCE.

d διειλημμέναι ζῴοις. καὶ σαράπεις μήλινοι καὶ | πορφυροῖ καὶ λευκοί, οἱ δὲ ἁλουργεῖς. καὶ καλασίρεις Κορινθιουργεῖς· εἰσὶ δ' αἱ μὲν πορφυραῖ τούτων, αἱ δὲ ἰοβαφεῖς, αἱ δὲ ὑακίνθιναι· λάβοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ φλογίνας καὶ θαλασσοειδεῖς. ὑπάρχουσιν δὲ καὶ Περσικαὶ καλασίρεις, αἵπερ εἰσὶ κάλλισται πασῶν. ἴδοι δ' ἄν τις, φησίν, καὶ τὰς καλουμένας ἀκταίας, ὅπερ ἐστὶ καὶ πολυτελέστατον ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς περιβλήμασιν. ἐστὶν δὲ τοῦτο σπαθητὸν ἰσχύος καὶ κουφότητος χάριν· καταπέπασται δὲ χρυσοῖς κέγχροις· οἱ δὲ
e κέγχροι νήματι πορφυρῷ πάντες | εἰς τὴν εἴσω μοῖραν ἅμματ' ἔχουσιν ἀνὰ μέσον.[26] τούτοις πᾶσι χρῆσθαί φησι τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἐπιδόντας εἰς τρυφήν. περὶ δὲ τῆς Σαμίων τρυφῆς Δοῦρις ἱστορῶν παρατίθεται Ἀσίου ποιήματα, ὅτι ἐφόρουν χλιδῶνας περὶ τοῖς βραχίοσιν καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγοντες τῶν Ἡραίων ἐβάδιζον κατεκτενισμένοι τὰς κόμας ἐπὶ τὸ μετάφρενον καὶ τοὺς ὤμους. τὸ δὲ νόμιμον τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ παροιμίας τῆσδε, "βαδίζειν <εἰς>[27] Ἡραῖον ἐμπεπλεγμένον". ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἀσίου ἔπη οὕτως ἔχοντα· |

f οἳ δ' αὖτως φοίτεσκον ὅπως πλοκάμους
κτενίσαιντο
εἰς Ἥρης τέμενος, πεπυκασμένοι εἵμασι καλοῖς,

[26] At this point CE contain the intrusive comment (identical to Σ A.R. 1.1139): "In the marginal notes in the book from which these extracts are drawn are the following comments about the *rhombos* mentioned above: 'A *rhombos* is a small ball, which they

designs were woven into the tops of them at fixed intervals. They also had quince-colored, purple, and white *sarapeis*, and some that were sea-purple. Also *kalasireis* made in Corinth; some of these are purple, while others are dyed violet, or are dark blue; you could also find some that are flame-red or sea-green. In addition, there are Persian *kalasireis*, which are the most beautiful of all. You could also see, he says, what are referred to as *aktaiai*; this is the most expensive type of Persian garment. It is woven compactly, to make it strong and light, and is covered with gold beads; the beads are all attached to the inside by means of a purple thread that runs through their middle. After the Ephesians surrendered to luxury, he says, they wore all these items. Duris (*FGrH* 76 F 60) describes the Samians' addiction to luxury, citing some lines from Asius (fr. 13 Bernabé, quoted below) to the effect that they wore bracelets on their arms, and that when they celebrated the Heraia festival, they marched with their hair combed down over their backs and shoulders. Evidence for this custom is also found in the following proverb (p. 99 Strömberg): "to march to Hera's temple with braided hair." The verses from Asius run as follows (fr. 13 Bernabé):

> They used to make their way thus, after they had
> combed their hair,
> to Hera's sanctuary, wrapped close in beautiful
> garments;

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strike with a strap a cause to turn, making it go in circles and produce a noise. Eupolis (fr. 72) called it a *rhumbos*, and it is also known as a *brutêr*."

[27] add. Meineke

χιονέοισι χιτῶσι πέδον χθονὸς εὐρέος εἶχον·
χαῖται δ' ἠωρεῦντ' ἀνέμῳ χρυσέοις ἐνὶ δεσμοῖς,
χρύσειαι δὲ κορύμβαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν τέττιγες ὥς·[28]
δαιδαλέας δὲ χλιδῶνας ἄρ' ἀμφὶ βραχίοσ' ἕσαντες
< . . . >τες ὑπασπίδιον πολεμιστήν.

Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς ||
526 Σαμίους φησὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τρυφήσαντας διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους μικρολογίαν ὥσπερ Συβαρίτας τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσαι. Κολοφώνιοι δέ, ὥς φησι Φύλαρχος, τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄντες σκληροὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς, ἐπεὶ εἰς τρυφὴν ἐξώκειλαν πρὸς Λυδοὺς φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενοι, προῆσαν διησκημένοι τὰς κόμας χρυσῷ κόσμῳ, ὡς καὶ Ξενοφάνης φησίν·

ἁβροσύνας δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν,
ὅφρα τυραννίης ἦσαν ἄνευ στυγερῆς, |
b ἦεσαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες,
οὐ μείους ὥσπερ χείλιοι ὡς ἐπίπαν,
αὐχαλέοι, χαίτῃσιν † ἀγαλλόμεν † εὐπρεπέεσσιν
ἀσκητοῖς ὀδμὴν χρίμασι δευόμενοι.

οὕτω δ' ἐξελύθησαν διὰ τὴν ἄκαιρον μέθην ὥστε τινὲς αὐτῶν οὔτε ἀνατέλλοντα τὸν ἥλιον οὔτε δυόμενον

[28] A has the fourth and fifth verses of the quotation in the opposite order.

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[83] Cf. 12.512b–c with n.

their snow-white tunics touched the wide earth's
plain.
Their hair was bound with gold and swung in the
breeze,
and gold top-knots that resembled cicadas[83] sat on
top of it.
Placing elaborate bracelets, then, about their arms
. . . -ing a warrior hidden behind his shield.

Heracleides of Pontus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 57 Wehrli = fr. 41 Schütrumpf) claims that even though the Samians were profoundly addicted to luxury, they lost their city, just as the Sybarites did,[84] because they treated one another so stingily. According to Phylarchus (*FGrH* 81 F 66), the Colophonians originally practiced harsh social discipline, but after they ran aground on the reef of luxury and became friends and allies of the Lydians, they went out with their hair elaborately decorated with gold jewelry, as Xenophanes (fr. 3 West^2) says:

After they learned useless daintiness from the
Lydians,
once they were free from hateful tyranny,
they entered the marketplace wearing robes dyed a
deep sea-purple,
no less than 1000 of them in total,
braggarts, with lovely hair [corrupt]
soaked in the scent of fancy perfumes.

The fact that they got drunk at all hours made them so depraved, that some of them had never seen the sun rise or

[84] In 510 BCE; cf. 12.521d–2a.

ἑωράκασιν. νόμον τε ἔθεντο, ὃς ἔτι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἦν,
c τὰς αὐλητρίδας καὶ τὰς ψαλτρίας | καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀκροαμάτων τὰ μισθώματα λαμβάνειν ἀπὸ πρωὶ μέχρι μεσούσης ἡμέρας καὶ μέχρι λύχνων ἁφῶν· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τὴν λοιπὴν νύκτα ἦσαν πρὸς τῷ μεθύειν. Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ Ἱστοριῶν χιλίους φησὶν ἄνδρας αὐτῶν ἀλουργεῖς φοροῦντας στολὰς ἀστυπολεῖν· ὃ δὴ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν σπάνιον τότ' ἦν καὶ περισπούδαστον· ἰσοστάσιος γὰρ ἦν ἡ πορφύρα πρὸς ἄργυρον ἐξεταζομένη. τοιγαροῦν διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀγωγὴν ἐν τυραννίδι καὶ στάσεσι γενό-
d μενοι αὐτῇ πατρίδι διεφθάρησαν. ταὐτὰ εἴρηκεν | περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Νόμων. κοινῶς δὲ περὶ πάντων τῶν Ἰώνων τρυφῆς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Δωδώνῃ τάδε λέγει·

πόθεν οἰκήτωρ, ἤ τις Ἰώνων
τρυφεραμπεχόνων ἁβρὸς ἡδυπαθὴς
ὄχλος ὥρμηται;

Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνάς φησι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τρυφῆς < . . . > ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡ χρυσῆ παροιμία διαμεμένηκε.

Καὶ τῶν παρωκεανιτῶν δέ τινάς φησι Θεόπομπος ἐν ὀγδόῃ Φιλιππικῶν ἁβροδιαίτους γενέσθαι. περὶ δὲ
e Βυζαντίων | καὶ Καλχηδονίων ὁ αὐτός φησι Θεόπομπος τάδε· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Βυζάντιοι καὶ διὰ τὸ δημοκρα-

[85] Literally "until lamp-lighting."

set. They also passed a law—still in effect in our time—that pipe-girls, harp-girls, and all entertainers of this sort were to be paid to work from dawn until noon, and from then until dusk;[85] after that, they spent the rest of the night getting drunk. Theopompus in Book XV of the *History* (*FGrH* 115 F 114) says that 1000s of them wandered around the city wearing sea-purple robes. Even kings did not have much fabric of this sort in that period, and they went to great lengths to obtain it; for purple dye cost its weight in silver. So since they lived this way, they became enmeshed in tyranny and civil war, and were ruined along with their country. Diogenes of Babylon in Book I of his *Laws* (fr. 53, *SVF* iii.221) has the same to say about them. Antiphanes in *The Girl from Dodona* (fr. 91) says the following about how all the Ionians generally are addicted to luxury:

> Whence its inhabitant? Has some
> pampered, luxury-loving crowd of Ionians wearing
> rich garments set off?

Theophrastus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 549 Fortenbaugh) claims that in fact, as a result of the Ionians' profound addiction to luxury, they . . . even today this exquisite proverb remains current.

According to Theopompus in Book VIII of the *History of Philip* (*FGrH* 115 F 62, including the material on the Byzantines and the Calchedonians below), some of the peoples who live alongside the ocean also lead a pampered existence. And as for the Byzantines and the Calchedonians, the same Theopompus says the following: Because the Byzantines had enjoyed a democratic form of govern-

τεῖσθαι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπ᾽ ἐμπορίου κειμένην ἔχειν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἅπαντα περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸν λιμένα διατρίβειν ἀκόλαστοι καὶ συνουσιάζειν καὶ πίνειν εἰθισμένοι ἐπὶ τῶν καπηλείων. Καλχηδόνιοι δὲ πρὶν μὲν μετασχεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς πολιτείας ἅπαντες ἐν ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ βίῳ βελτίονι διετέλουν ὄντες, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς δημοκρατίας τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐγεύσαντο, διεφθάρησαν εἰς τρυφὴν καὶ τὸν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν
f βίον ἐκ σωφρονεστάτων | καὶ μετριωτάτων φιλοπόται καὶ πολυτελεῖς γενόμενοι. κἀν τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν Φιλιππικῶν τὸ τῶν Ὀμβρικῶν φησὶν ἔθνος—ἐστὶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν—ἐπιεικῶς εἶναι ἀβροδίαιτον παραπλησίως τε βιοτεύειν τοῖς Λυδοῖς ||
527 χώραν τε ἔχειν ἀγαθήν, ὅθεν προελθεῖν εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν. περὶ δὲ Θετταλῶν λέγων ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ φησὶν ὅτι, ζῶσιν οἱ μὲν σὺν ταῖς ὀρχηστρίσιν καὶ ταῖς αὐλητρίσιν διατρίβοντες, οἱ δ᾽ ἐν κύβοις καὶ πότοις καὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀκολασίαις διημερεύοντες, καὶ μᾶλλον σπουδάζουσιν ὅπως ὄψων παντοδαπῶν τὰς τραπέζας παραθήσονται πλήρεις ἢ τὸν αὑτῶν βίον ὅπως παρασχήσονται κεκοσμημένον. Φαρσάλιοι δὲ πάντων, φησίν, ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν ἀργότατοι καὶ πολυ-
b τελέστατοι. ὡμολόγηνται δ᾽ οἱ Θετταλοί, ὡς | καὶ Κριτίας φησί, πάντων Ἑλλήνων πολυτελέστατοι γεγενῆσθαι περί τε τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα· ὅπερ αὐτοῖς αἴτιον ἐγένετο κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπαγαγεῖν

[86] Very similar material, including the reference to Critias that

ment for a long time at this point, and because the city in which they lived was located at a central trade-point, and its citizens all spent their time in the marketplace and the harbor, they lacked discipline and were used to having parties and drinking in the bars. Before the Calchedonians were able to participate in politics, they all behaved better and lived a better life. But once they got a taste of Byzantine-style democracy, they descended into an addiction to luxury and went from being extremely self-controlled, moderate people, as far as their day-to-day existence was concerned, to loving to drink and running through their money. And in Book XXI of his *History of Philip* (*FGrH* 115 F 132) he claims that the Umbrians—they live near the Adriatic—lead a relatively pampered existence, live much like the Lydians, and inhabit a lovely country, as a consequence of which they grew rich. In his discussion of the Thessalians in Book IV (*FGrH* 115 F 49) he says:[86] Some of them pass their time with dancing-girls and pipe-girls, while others spend the whole day shooting dice, drinking, and indulging in similar wild behavior. And they are more interested in how to ensure that the tables set beside them are full of a wide variety of dishes, than in how they can keep their personal lives orderly. The inhabitants of Pharsalus, he claims, are the laziest people alive, and run through the most money. But, as Critias (88 B 31 D–K) too says, the Thessalians are generally agreed to have been the biggest spendthrifts of all the Greeks, as far as their diet and their clothing were concerned. This is why they encouraged the Persians to invade Greece, be-

follows, but with no mention of Theopompus, is preserved at 14.663a.

τοὺς Πέρσας, ζηλώσαντας τὴν τούτων τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν. περὶ δὲ Αἰτωλῶν Πολύβιος μὲν ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῃ Ἱστοριῶν φησιν ὡς διὰ τὴν τῶν πολέμων συνέχειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν βίων πολυτέλειαν κατάχρεοι ἐγένοντο. Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ' ἐν δωδεκάτῃ Ἱστοριῶν, Αἰτωλοί, φησί, τοσούτῳ τῶν λοιπῶν ἑτοιμότερον
c ἔχουσι πρὸς | θάνατον ὅσῳπερ καὶ ζῆν πολυτελῶς καὶ ἐκτενέστερον ζητοῦσι τῶν ἄλλων.

Διαβόητοι δ' εἰσὶ περὶ τρυφὴν Σικελιῶταί τε καὶ Συρακόσιοι, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησὶν ἐν Δαιταλεῦσιν·

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔμαθε ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ πέμποντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
πίνειν, ἔπειτ' ᾄδειν κακῶς, Συρακοσίαν τράπεζαν
Συβαρίτιδάς τ' εὐωχίας καὶ "Χῖον ἐκ Λακαινᾶν".

Πλάτων δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς φησιν· ταύτην δὴ τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχων εἰς Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Σικελίαν ἦλθον ὅτε
d πρῶτον ἀφικόμην. | ἐλθόντα δέ με ὁ ταύτῃ βίος οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσεν, δίς τε τῆς ἡμέρας ἐμπιπλάμενον ζῆν καὶ μηδέποτε κοιμώμενον μόνον νύκτωρ καὶ ὅσα τούτῳ ἐπιτηδεύματα συνέπεται τῷ βίῳ· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἐθῶν οὔτ' ἂν φρόνιμος οὐδείς ποτε γενέσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ νέου ἐπιτηδεύων δύναιτο, σώφρων δ' οὐδ' ἂν μελλήσαι

cause they admired their luxurious lifestyle and their extravagance. As for the Aetolians, Polybius in Book XIII (1.1) of the *History* says that they fell deeply into debt as a result of their constant wars and the extravagance in which they lived. Agatharchides says in Book XII of the *History* (*FGrH* 86 F 6): The Aetolians are more willing to die than anyone else, to the same extent that they make a more vigorous effort than others to live expensively.

The Sicilians and the Syracusans are notorious for their addiction to luxury, as Aristophanes says in *Banqueters* (fr. 225.1–3):[87]

> But this isn't what he learned when I sent him to school! Instead, (he learned)
> how to drink, and also how to sing out of key, and what a Syracusan table is,
> and Sybaritic feasts, and "Chian (wine) from Spartan cups."[88]

Plato says in his *Letters* (*Epist. VII* 326b–c): This is what I had in mind when I went to Italy and Sicily on my first visit. But once I got there, the local lifestyle didn't appeal to me in the least: to spend your life stuffing yourself twice a day and never sleeping alone at night, along with all the other practices that go with this type of existence. Because the consequence of habits like this, is that no one in the whole world could grow into a thoughtful person, if he'd behaved that way since he was young, and he'd be unlikely ever to become a person who could control himself. So too in

[87] The third verse, followed by a fourth, is quoted also at 11.484f.

[88] Presumably an otherwise unknown poetic fragment.

ποτὲ γενέσθαι. κἀν τρίτῳ δὲ Πολιτείας γράφει οὕτως· Συρακοσίαν δέ, ὦ φίλε, τράπεζαν καὶ Σικελικὴν ποικιλίαν ὄψου, ὡς ἔοικας, οὐκ αἰνεῖς· ψέγεις δὲ καὶ
e Κορινθίαν κόρην φίλην εἶναι ἀνδράσιν | μέλλουσιν εὖ σώματος ἕξειν καὶ Ἀττικῶν πεμμάτων τὰς δοκούσας εἶναι εὐπαθείας.

Ποσειδώνιος δ' ἐκκαιδεκάτῃ Ἱστοριῶν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν πόλεων λέγων ὡς ἐτρύφων γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· τῶν γοῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν εὐβοσίαν τῆς χώρας ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα κακοπαθείας συνόδους νεμόντων πλείονας, ἐν αἷς εὐωχοῦντο συνεχῶς, τοῖς μὲν γυμνασίοις ὡς βαλανείοις χρώμενοι, ἀλειφόμενοι[29] ἐλαίῳ πολυτελεῖ καὶ μύροις·
f τοῖς δὲ γραμματείοις—οὕτως γὰρ | ἐκάλουν τὰ κοινὰ τῶν συνδείπνων—ὡς οἰκητηρίοις ἐνδιαιτώμενοι, καὶ τὸ πλεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας γαστριζόμενοι ἐν αὐτοῖς οἴνοις καὶ βρώμασιν, ὥστε καὶ προσαποφέρειν πολλὰ καὶ καταυλουμένους πρὸς χελωνίδος πολυκρότου ψόφον, ὥστε τὰς πόλεις ὅλας τοιούτοις κελάδοις συνηχεῖσθαι. Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ' ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν
528 Εὐρωπιακῶν, Ἀρυκανδεῖς, φησί, || Λυκίας ὅμοροι ὄντες Λιμυρεῦσι διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀσωτίαν καὶ πολυτέλειαν κατάχρεοι γενόμενοι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀργίαν καὶ φιληδονίαν ἀδυνατοῦντες ἀποδοῦναι τὰ δάνεια

[29] ἀλειφόμενοι δ' A: ἀλείφεσθαι δ' CE: δ' del. Meineke

Book III of the *Republic* (404d, condensed) he writes as follows: Apparently, my friend, you have nothing good to say about a Syracusan table or the elaborate Syracusan cuisine; and you object to a Corinthian girl[89] being friends with men who want to be physically robust, and to the seeming delights of Attic pastry.

Posidonius in Book XVI of the *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 10 = fr. 62a Edelstein–Kidd),[90] in his discussion of how addicted to luxury the Syrian cities were, writes as follows: Since the people in the cities, as a consequence of the natural wealth of their country, did not have to work hard for the necessities of life, they used to hold large numbers of parties, so that they could feast constantly. They used their wrestling-schools for bathhouses, and anointed themselves with expensive oil and perfumes; and they used their *grammateia*—this is how they referred to their communal dining-halls—as if they were their homes, and practically lived in them, stuffing their bellies full of wine and food in them for most of the day, to the extent that they even carried a large amount of food back home, and listening to pipe-music accompanied by the sound of the noisy lyre, to the extent that entire cities echoed with sounds of this sort. Agatharchides says in Book XXXV of his *History of Europe* (*FGrH* 86 F 16): As a result of their profligate and expensive lifestyle, the Arycandians in Lycia, whose territory borders on that of the Limyres, fell into debt; when they were unable to pay back what they owed, on account of their laziness and hedonism, they became in-

[89] I.e. a prostitute.

[90] Quoted in almost identical form also at 5.210e–f.

προσέκλιναν ταῖς Μιθριδάτου ἐλπίσιν, ἆθλον ἔξειν νομίσαντες χρεῶν ἀποκοπάς. ἐν δὲ τῇ τριακοστῇ καὶ πρώτῃ Ζακυνθίους φησὶν ἀπείρους εἶναι πολέμου διὰ τὸ ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ τρυφῶντας ἐθίζεσθαι.

Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ Καπυησίους τοὺς ἐν | b Καμπανίᾳ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς γῆς πλοῦτον περιβαλομένους ἐξοκεῖλαι εἰς τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν, ὑπερβαλλομένους τὴν περὶ Κρότωνα καὶ Σύβαριν παραδεδομένην φήμην. οὐ δυνάμενοι οὖν, φησίν, φέρειν τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκάλουν τὸν Ἀννίβαν· διόπερ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀνήκεστα δεινὰ ἔπαθον. Πετηλῖνοι δὲ τηρήσαντες τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν εἰς τοσοῦτον καρτερίας ἦλθον πολιορκούμενοι ὑπ' Ἀννίβα ὥστε μετὰ τὸ πάντα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν c δέρματα καταφαγεῖν, | ἁπάντων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν δένδρων τοὺς φλοιοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἁπαλοὺς πτόρθους ἀναλῶσαι, καὶ ἔνδεκα μῆνας ὑπομείναντες τὴν πολιορκίαν οὐδενὸς βοηθοῦντος οὐδὲ συνευδοκοῦντος Ῥωμαίων παρέδοσαν ἑαυτούς.

Τοὺς δὲ Κουρῆτας Φύλαρχος διὰ τῆς ἑνδεκάτης τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Αἰσχύλον ἱστορεῖν διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν τυχεῖν τῆς προσηγορίας·

χλιδῶν τε πλόκαμος ὥστε παρθένοις ἁβραῖς·
ὅθεν καλεῖν Κουρῆτα λαὸν ἤνεσαν. |

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91 Agatharchides belongs to the first half of the 2nd century BCE, and the Mithridates in question must be either the obscure

volved in Mithridates' adventures,[91] in the expectation that they would be rewarded with a remission of their debts. And in Book XXXI (*FGrH* 86 F 14) he says that the Zacynthians had no experience of war, because they were accustomed to leading a luxurious life of prosperity and wealth.

Polybius in Book VII (1.1–3) (says) that the fertility of their land meant that the people of Capua in Campania were surrounded by wealth and ran aground on the reef of luxury and expensive living, outdoing the stories that have been passed down about Croton and Sybaris. So because they were unable, he says, to cope with how prosperous they were, they invited Hannibal in; they suffered horribly at the Romans' hands as a consequence. The inhabitants of Petelia, on the other hand, who respected their agreement with the Romans, were driven to such extremes of endurance when they were besieged by Hannibal, that after they ate all the hides in the city, and consumed the bark and the tender branches from all the trees, and held out against the siege for 11 months, they finally surrendered, because no Roman offered any assistance or sympathy.

As for the Curetes, Phylarchus (says) in Book XI of his *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 23) that Aeschylus (fr. 313) reports that they got their name because of their addiction to luxury:

> and a lock of hair dainty enough for delicate girls;
> as a result of which they judged it right to call the
> people Curetes.[92]

Mithradates III, king of Pontus (reigned *c.*220–*c.*189/8) or the son of Antiochus III mentioned at Livy 33.19.9 (197 BCE).

[92] As if the name was derived from *kourê*, "young girl."

d Ἀγάθων δ' ἐν τῷ Θυέστῃ τοὺς τὴν Πρώνακτος θυγατέρα μνηστεύοντας τοῖς τε λοιποῖς πᾶσιν ἐξησκημένους ἐλθεῖν καὶ κομῶντας τὰς κεφαλάς, ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπέτυχον τοῦ γάμου,

κόμας ἐκειράμεσθα (φησίν) μάρτυρας τρυφῆς,
ἥ που ποθεινὸν χρῆμα παιζούσῃ φρενί.
ἐπώνυμον γοῦν εὐθὺς ἔσχομεν κλέος,
Κουρῆτες εἶναι, κουρίμου χάριν τριχός.

καὶ Κυμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ὥς φησιν Ὑπέροχος ἢ ὁ
e ποιήσας τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερόμενα Κυμαϊκά, | διετέλεσαν χρυσοφοροῦντες καὶ ἀνθιναῖς ἐσθῆσι χρώμενοι καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐξιόντες ἐπὶ ζευγῶν ὀχούμενοι. περὶ μὲν οὖν ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων τρυφῆς τοσαῦτα μνημονεύω.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα τάδ' ἤκουσα. Κτησίας ἐν τρίτῃ Περσικῶν καὶ πάντας μέν φησι τοὺς βασιλεύσαντας τῆς Ἀσίας περὶ τρυφὴν σπουδάσαι, μάλιστα δὲ Νινύαν τὸν Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμιδος υἱόν. καὶ οὗτος οὖν ἔνδον μένων καὶ τρυφῶν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἑωρᾶτο εἰ μὴ
f ὑπὸ τῶν εὐνούχων | καὶ τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν. τοιοῦτος δ' ἦν καὶ Σαρδανάπαλλος, ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἀνακυνδαράξεω

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93 Pronax' daughter was Amphithea, and he gave her to his brother Adrastus, who was one of the Seven Against Thebes; cf. [Apollod.] *Bib.* 1.9.13.

94 Diodorus Siculus, who preserves a much longer version of the material from Ctesias (= *FGrH* 688 F 1b), makes it clear that the women referred to below were concubines.

Agathon in his *Thyestes* (*TrGF* 39 F 3) (claims that) the men who were courting Pronax' daughter came decked out in every way,[93] including wearing their hair long. And when they were unable to marry her, he says,

> We sheared our hair, which bears witness to our love
> of luxury;
> this is something a carefree mind longs for, I suppose.
> At once, accordingly, we got a reputation that
> brought a name with it,
> that we are Curetes, because of our shorn (*kourimos*)
> hair.

The inhabitants of Cumae in Italy, according to Hyperochus (*FGrH* 576 F 1)—or whoever it was who wrote the *History of Cumae* attributed to him—likewise always wore gold jewelry and brightly colored clothing; and when they went out into the country with their wives, they rode on carts pulled by teams of draft-animals. This is the extent of what I have to say about the addiction to luxury of various peoples and cities.

As for anecdotes involving individuals, I have heard the following. Ctesias in Book III of the *History of Persia* (*FGrH* 688 F 1n)[94] claims that all the kings of Asia were eager to live in luxury, but especially Ninyas the son of Ninus and Semiramis.[95] He accordingly stayed inside and enjoyed a luxurious existence, and no one saw him except his eunuchs and his women. Sardanapallus (said by some authorities to have been the son of Anacyndaraxes, while

[95] The Greeks regarded Ninus as the first king of Assyria and as the eponymous founder of its capital city Ninevah.

λέγουσιν υἱόν, οἱ δὲ Ἀναβαραξάρου. ὅτε δὴ οὖν Ἀρβάκης, εἷς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρατηγῶν Μῆδος γένος, διεπράξατο διά τινος τῶν εὐνούχων Σπαραμείζου θεάσασθαι Σαρδανάπαλλον καὶ μόλις αὐτῷ ἐπετράπη ἐκείνου ἐθελήσαντος, ὡς εἰσελθὼν εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ Μῆδος ἐψιμυθιωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον γυναικιστὶ καὶ
529 μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων ξαίνοντα πορφύραν || ἀναβάδην τε μετ' αὐτῶν καθήμενον, τὰς ὀφρῦς < . . . >,[30] γυναικείαν δὲ στολὴν ἔχοντα καὶ κατεξυρημένον τὸν πώγωνα καὶ κατακεκισηρισμένον—ἦν δὲ καὶ γάλακτος λευκότερος καὶ ὑπεγέγραπτο τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς—ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ προσεῖδεν τὸν Ἀρβάκην τὰ λευκὰ ἐπαναβαλὼν τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν, οἱ μὲν πολλοί, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Δοῦρις, ἱστοροῦσιν ὑπὸ τούτου ἀγανακτήσαντος, εἰ τοιοῦτος αὐτῶν βασιλεύει, συγκεντηθέντα ἀποθανεῖν. Κτησίας δὲ λέγει εἰς πόλεμον αὐτὸν καταστῆναι καὶ
b ἀθροίσαντα πολλὴν στρατιὰν καὶ καταλυθέντα | ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρβάκου τελευτῆσαι ἑαυτὸν ἐμπρήσαντα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, πυρὰν νήσαντα ὕψος τεσσάρων πλέθρων, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπέθηκεν χρυσᾶς κλίνας ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἴσας τραπέζας καὶ ταύτας χρυσᾶς. ἐποίησε δὲ ἐν

[30] <ὑπογεγραμμένον> Kaibel

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96 A longer but less colorful version of the material that follows (*FGrH* 688 F 1p), again from Ctesias, is preserved by Diodorus Siculus (2.24), who says that Arbaces bribed the eunuch—whom he does not name—to let him see the king, and only put together a conspiracy against him considerably later on. Perhaps the addi-

others claim that he was the son of Anabaraxarus) was like this as well.[96] So when Arbaces, who was one of his generals and a Mede by birth, made arrangements via one of the eunuchs, named Sparameizus, to see Sardanapallus, and only got permission with considerable difficulty, after the king agreed; when the Mede came in and saw Sardanapallus covered with make-up[97] and jewelry like a woman, carding purple wool with his concubines, sitting among them with his feet up, with his eyebrows . . . , and wearing women's clothes, with his beard shaved and his chin smoothed with a pumice stone—he was whiter than milk, and had lines painted under his eyes; and when he saw Arbaces, he rolled his eyes, so that the whites showed—most authorities, including Duris (*FGrH* 76 F 42), report that Arbaces was revolted by the idea that someone like this was their king, and stabbed him to death. But Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 F 1q)[98] claims that Sardanapallus started a war and assembled a large army, and that after he was overthrown by Arbaces, he died by setting fire to himself in his palace, after he heaped up a pyre 400 feet[99] high and put 150 gold couches and an equal number of tables similarly made of gold on top of it. He constructed a room 100 feet

tional details in Athenaeus' account are drawn from Duris (cited below). Sardanapallus is the Greek name for the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (reigned 669–631 BCE); cf. 8.335e–6b. What is given here as his father's name is apparently a misunderstanding of a royal title; see Cauer, *RE* i (1894) 2052.

97 Literally "white lead" (used to lighten the complexion).

98 Ctesias' version of the story, as preserved at Diodorus Siculus 2.27 (cf. above), lacks almost all the over-the-top details of Athenaeus' account, which may once again be drawn from Duris.

99 Literally "four *plethra*."

τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ οἴκημα ἑκατόμπεδον ἐκ ξύλων κἀνταῦθα κλίνας ὑπεστόρεσε καὶ κατεκλίθη ἐνταῦθα αὐτός τε μετὰ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ παλλακίδες ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κλίναις. τοὺς γὰρ τρεῖς υἱοὺς καὶ δύο θυγατέρας ὁρῶν τὰ πράγματα κακούμενα προπεπόμ-
c φει εἰς Νίνον | πρὸς τὸν ἐκεῖ βασιλέα, δοὺς αὐτοῖς τρισχίλια χρυσίου τάλαντα· ἐπεστέγασεν δὲ τὸ οἴκημα δοκοῖς μεγάλαις τε καὶ παχείαις, ἔπειτα ἐν κύκλῳ περιέθηκε πολλὰ ξύλα καὶ παχέα, ὥστε μὴ εἶναι ἔξοδον. ἐνταῦθα ἐπέθηκεν μὲν χρυσίου μυριάδας χιλίας, ἀργυρίου δὲ μυρίας μυριάδας ταλάντων καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ πορφύρας καὶ στολὰς παντοδαπάς. ἔπειτα ὑφάψαι ἐκέλευσε τὴν πυράν, καὶ ἐκαίετο πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέραις. οἱ δὲ ἐθαύμαζον ὁρῶντες τὸν καπνὸν καὶ ἐδόκουν
d αὐτὸν θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν· ταῦτα | δὲ μόνοι ᾔδεσαν οἱ εὐνοῦχοι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σαρδανάπαλλος ἐκτόπως ἡδυπαθήσας ὡς ἐνῆν γενναίως ἐτελεύτησεν. Κλέαρχος δὲ περὶ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως διηγούμενος ὅτι, τοῖς αὐτῷ πορίσασιν ἡδύ τι βρῶμα ἆθλα ἐτίθει, νοῦν οὐκ ἔχων· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λεγόμενος, οἶμαι, Διὸς ἅμα καὶ βασιλέως ἐγκέφαλος· ὅθεν ὁ πάντων εὐδαιμονέστατος Σαρδανάπαλλος, ὁ παρ᾽ ὅλον τὸν βίον τιμήσας τὰς ἀπολαύσεις, καὶ τελευτήσας δείκνυσιν ἐν τῷ τοῦ μνήματος τύπῳ τοῖς δακτύλοις οἷου καταγέλωτός
e ἐστιν | ἄξια τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα, οὐκ ἄξια ὄντα ψόφου δακτύλων, ὃν πεποίηται ποιούμενος δὶς ἐν χορῷ < . . . > ἡ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σπουδή. φαίνεται

long out of logs on top of the pyre; covered the couches with bed-clothes there; and lay down on them along with his wife, while his concubines lay on other couches. Because when he saw that matters were going badly, he sent his three sons and two daughters away to Ninevah, to the king there, and gave them 3000 talents of gold. He covered the room with large, heavy roof-beams, and then surrounded it with many heavy logs, so that no one could escape. He put ten million talents of gold on top, along with 100 million talents of silver, as well as robes, purple fabric, and garments of all sorts, after which he ordered that the pyre be lit. It burned for 15 days. When people saw the smoke, they were puzzled and assumed that he was carrying out a sacrifice; only the eunuchs knew the truth. So Sardanapallus, who had lived a life of extraordinary luxury, died as nobly as was possible. But Clearchus (fr. 51d Wehrli) (says) in his description of the Persian king[100] that he offered prizes to people who found something delicious for him to eat, and rightly so; because this is what is referred to, I think, as "the brain of Zeus and of the king as well." Thus Sardanapallus, the richest man there ever was, who emphasized physical pleasure throughout his life, shows after his death, by the gesture he makes with his fingers in the carving on his tomb, what contempt human affairs deserve and how they are not worth even a snap of one's fingers, which he is represented as making twice in his dance[101] . . . seriousness in other matters. It is thus ap-

[100] Quoted also, in more complete form, at 12.514d–e.

[101] Cf. Plu. *Mor.* 336c. Whatever gesture Sardanapallus was making in the carving, he was presumably not merely snapping his fingers.

οὖν οὐκ ἄπρακτος γενόμενος Σαρδανάπαλλος· καὶ γὰρ ἐπιγέγραπται αὐτοῦ τῷ μνήματι· Σαρδανάπαλλος Ἀνακυνδαράξεω Ἀγχιάλην ἔδειμε καὶ Ταρσὸν μιῇ ἡμέρῃ, ἀλλὰ νῦν τέθνηκεν. Ἀμύντας δὲ ἐν τρίτῳ Σταθμῶν ἐν τῇ Νίνῳ φησὶν εἶναι χῶμα ὑψηλόν, ὅπερ κατασπάσαι Κῦρον ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ἀντιχωννύντα τῇ πόλει· λέγεσθαι δὲ τὸ χῶμα τοῦτ' εἶναι Σαρδανα-
f πάλλου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος | Νίνου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ Χαλδαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ὃ μετενεγκεῖν Χοιρίλον ἔμμετρον ποιήσαντα. εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐβασίλευσα καὶ ἄχρι ἑώρων τοῦ ἡλίου <τὸ>[31] φῶς, ἔπιον, ἔφαγον, ἠφροδισίασα, εἰδὼς τόν τε
530 χρόνον ὄντα || βραχὺν ὃν ζῶσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τοῦτον πολλὰς ἔχοντα μεταβολὰς καὶ κακοπαθείας, καὶ ὧν ἂν καταλίπω ἀγαθῶν ἄλλοι ἕξουσι τὰς ἀπολαύσεις. διὸ κἀγὼ ἡμέραν οὐδεμίαν παρέλιπον τοῦτο ποιῶν. Κλείταρχος δ' ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον γήρᾳ τελευτῆσαί φησιν Σαρδανάπαλλον μετὰ
b τὴν ἀπόπτωσιν τῆς Σύρων ἀρχῆς. | Ἀριστόβουλος δ', ἐν Ἀγχιάλῃ, ἣν ἐδείματο, φησί, Σαρδανάπαλλος, Ἀλέξανδρος ἀναβαίνων εἰς Πέρσας κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἦν οὐ πόρρω τὸ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου μνημεῖον, ἐφ' οὗ ἑστάναι τύπον λίθινον συμβεβληκότα τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς τοὺς δακτύλους, ὡς ἂν ἀποκροτοῦντα, ἐπιγεγράφθαι δ' αὐτῷ Ἀσσυρίοις γράμμασι· Σαρδανάπαλλος Ἀνακυνδαράξεω παῖς Ἀγχιάλην καὶ

[31] add. Kaibel

parent that Sardanapallus was not idle. Indeed, the inscription on his grave reads: "Sardanapallus the son of Anacyndaraxes built Anchiale and Tarsus in a single day, but now is dead." Amyntas in Book III of the *Stages*[102] (*FGrH* 122 F 2) claims that there was a high mound in Ninevah, which was demolished by Cyrus when he was erecting a mound to counter the city's wall during his siege. And (he says that) this mound allegedly belonged to Sardanapallus, the king of Ninevah, and that a stone stele on top of it bore an inscription in Chaldean letters, which Choerilus translated and put into metrical form.[103] It ran as follows: "I was a king, and for as long as I saw the light of the sun, I drank, ate, and had sex, since I knew that human beings live for only a short time, in the course of which there are many reverses and troubles, and that others will enjoy whatever goods I leave behind. I therefore did not let a single day pass without behaving this way." Cleitarchus in Book IV of his *On Alexander* (*FGrH* 137 F 2), on the other hand, claims that Sardanapallus died of old age after being deposed from the Syrian[104] throne. And Aristobulus (*FGrH* 139 F 9a) says: As Alexander was moving inland against the Persians, he set up camp in Anchiale, which was built by Sardanapallus. Not far from there was Sardanapallus' tomb, on top of which stood a carving made of stone, which had the fingers of its right hand pressed together, as if it were snapping them, and inscribed on it in Assyrian letters was: "Sardanapallus the son of Anacyn-

[102] Sc. *on the Persian Royal Road* (e.g. 2.67a).

[103] Cf. *SH* 335, quoted at 8.336a–b.

[104] A mistake for "the Assyrian throne"; a common error (e.g. 12.545d).

c Ταρσὸν ἔδειμεν ἡμέρῃ μιῇ. ἔσθιε, πῖνε, | παῖζε· ὡς τἄλλα τούτου οὐκ ἄξια, τοῦ ἀποκροτήματος ἔοικε λέγειν.

Οὐ μόνος δὲ ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος διετέθρυπτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀνδρόκοττος ὁ Φρύξ· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐνεδύσατο ἀνθινὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ γυναικὸς εὐπρεπέστερον ἐκοσμεῖτο, ὡς Μνασέας φησὶν ἐν τρίτῳ Εὐρώπης. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν πέμπτῳ Βίων Σάγαρίν φησι τὸν Μαριανδυνὸν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς σιτεῖσθαι μὲν μέχρι γήρως ἐκ τοῦ τῆς τιτθῆς στόματος, ἵνα μὴ μασώμενος πονέσειε, οὐ
d πώποτε δὲ τὴν χεῖρα κατωτέρω | τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ προενέγκασθαι. διὸ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης Ξενοκράτην τὸν Χαλκηδόνιον σκώπτων ὅτι οὐρῶν οὐ προσῆγε τὴν χεῖρα τῷ αἰδοίῳ ἔλεγεν·

χεῖρες μὲν ἁγναί, φρὴν δ' ἔχει μίασμά τι.

Κτησίας δὲ ἱστορεῖ Ἄνναρον τὸν βασιλέως ὕπαρχον καὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας δυναστεύσαντα στολῇ χρῆσθαι γυναικείᾳ καὶ κόσμῳ, καὶ ὅτι βασιλέως δούλῳ ὄντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον εἰσῄεσαν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ψάλλουσαι καὶ ᾄδουσαι[32] γυναῖκες. ἔψαλλον δὲ αὗται

[32] ψάλλουσαι καὶ ᾄδουσαι del. Kaibel

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105 Otherwise unknown.

106 Parents or nurses commonly chewed up food to make it soft enough for a baby to eat; cf. Ar. *Eq.* 716–18.

107 Sc. to hold his penis when he urinated (cf. below), or to wipe himself when he shat.

daraxes built Anchiale and Tarsus in a single day. Eat, drink, and enjoy yourself; since the rest isn't worth this much," seemingly referring to a snap of one's fingers.

It was not just Sardanapallus who enjoyed a pampered existence, but also Androcottus the Phrygian;[105] because he too wore wildly-colored clothing and decked himself out in fancier jewelry than a woman, according to Mnaseas in Book III of *Europe* (fr. 14, *FHG* iii.152 = fr. 5 Cappeletto). Clearchus in Book V of the *Lives* (fr. 53 Wehrli) claims that Sagaris of Mariandyne was so addicted to luxury that his food passed through his nurse's mouth[106] until he was old man, to prevent him from wearing himself out chewing, and that his hand never went below his belly-button.[107] This is why Aristotle (test. 51b Düring) made fun of Xenocrates of Chalcedon[108] (test. 68 Isnarde Parente) for not touching his penis when he urinated, by saying (E. *Hipp.* 317):

My hands are pure, but my mind carries a stain.

Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 F 6) reports that Annarus,[109] who was one of the King's satraps and controlled Babylon, wore women's clothing and jewelry, and that even though he was the King's slave, 150 women who played the harp and sang came into the room while he was having dinner, and pro-

[108] Head of the Academy 339–314 BCE, and thus an intellectual rival of Aristotle. [109] Presumably to be identified with the effeminate Nanaros discussed by Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 4 and associated there with Arbaces, who is supposed to be Sardanapallus' successor. Diodorus Siculus' version of Ctesias' account of the King's behavior (2.33) once again (cf. above) lacks any of the colorful details preserved by Athenaeus.

e καὶ ᾖδον ἐκείνου δειπνοῦντος. | Φοῖνιξ δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ποιητὴς περὶ Νίνου λέγων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἰάμβων φησίν·

ἀνὴρ Νίνος τις ἐγένετ', ὡς ἐγὼ ᾽κούω,
Ἀσσύριος, ὅστις εἶχε χρυσίου πόντον,
τάλαντα πολλῷ πλεῦνα Κασπίης ψάμμου,
† ὃς ὀυκϊ δ' ἀστερ' ὀυδιζωνεδιζητο, †
οὐ πὰρ μάγοισι πῦρ ἱερὸν ἀνέστησεν,
ὥσπερ νόμος, ῥάβδοισι τοῦ θεοῦ ψαύων·
οὐ μυθιήτης, οὐ δικασπόλος κεῖνος·
οὐ λεωλογεῖν ἐμάνθαν', οὐκ ἀμιθρῆσαι, |
f ἀλλ' ἦν ἄριστος ἐσθίειν τε καὶ πίνειν
κἠρᾶν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ πετρῶν ὤθει.
ὡς δ' ἀπέθαν' ὠνήρ, πᾶσι κατέλιπε ῥῆσιν
ὅκου Νίνος νῦν ἐστι καὶ τὸ σῆμ' ᾄδει·
"ἄκουσον, εἴτ' Ἀσσύριος εἴτε καὶ Μῆδος
εἶς ἢ Κοραξός, ἢ 'πὸ τῶν ἄνω λιμνῶν
Σινδὸς κομήτης· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ κηρύσσω·
ἐγὼ Νίνος πάλαι ποτ' ἐγενόμην πνεῦμα,
νῦν δ' οὐκέτ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ γῆ πεποίημαι·
ἔχω δ' ὁκόσον ἔπαισα χὠκόσ' ἤεισα
χὠκόσσ' ἐράσθην < . . . >,
τὰ δ' ὄλβι' ἡμέων δήιοι συνελθόντες ||
531 φέρουσιν, ὥσπερ ὠμὸν ἔριφον αἱ Βάκχαι·
ἐγὼ δ' ἐς Ἄιδην οὔτε χρυσὸν οὔθ' ἵππον

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110 Cf. 12.528e n.

vided entertainment as he ate. The poet Phoenix of Colophon in Book I of his *Iambs* (fr. 1, pp. 231–2 Powell), discussing Ninus,[110] says:

> There was a man named Ninus, so I hear,
> an Assyrian, who owned a sea of gold,
> far more talents than the sands of the Caspian,
> † but who did not a star [corrupt]. †
> He did not join the Magi in raising the sacred fire,
> as custom required, by touching it with the god's
> staff;
> he was no orator or judge;
> he never learned to number his people, or to count;
> but he was outstanding at eating, drinking,
> and loving, and shoved everything else aside.[111]
> When this man died, he left behind a speech for
> everyone
> telling where Ninus is now, and his tomb sings out:
> "Listen, whether you are an Assyrian, a Mede,
> a Coraxian, or a long-haired Sindian from
> the northern marshes! For I have no choice but to
> say:
> Once long ago I was Ninus, a living creature,
> whereas now I am nothing and have become dirt.
> What is mine is the fun I had, the songs I sang,
> and the love I made . . .
> As for my wealth, my enemies collected it and
> are carrying it off, as Bacchants do with a goat's raw
> flesh.
> But I departed for Hades, taking with me

[111] Literally "under rocks."

οὔτ' ἀργυρῆν ἄμαξαν ᾠχόμην ἔλκων·
σποδὸς δὲ πελλὴ χὠ μιτρηφόρος κεῖμαι."

Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ Φιλιππικῶν Ἱστοριῶν Στράτονά φησι τὸν Σιδώνιον βασιλέα ὑπερβάλλειν ἡδυπαθείᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. οἷα γὰρ τοὺς Φαίακας Ὅμηρος ποιεῖν μεμυθολόγηκεν ἑορτάζοντας καὶ πίνοντας καὶ κιθαρῳδῶν καὶ ῥαψῳ-
b δῶν ἀκροωμένους, τοιαῦτα | καὶ ὁ Στράτων διετέλει ποιῶν πολὺν χρόνον. καὶ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐκείνων παρεκεκινήκει πρὸς τὰς ἡδονάς, ὅσον οἱ μὲν Φαίακες, ὥς φησιν Ὅμηρος, μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων γυναικῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἐποιοῦντο τοὺς πότους, ὁ δὲ Στράτων μετ' αὐλητρίδων καὶ ψαλτριῶν καὶ κιθαριστριῶν κατεσκευάζετο τὰς συνουσίας. καὶ μετεπέμπετο πολλὰς μὲν ἑταίρας ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πολλὰς δὲ μουσουργοὺς ἐξ Ἰωνίας, ἑτέρας δὲ παιδίσκας ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος,
c τὰς μὲν ᾠδικάς, τὰς δὲ ὀρχηστρικάς, | ὧν εἴθιστο μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀγῶνας τιθέναι καὶ μεθ' ὧν συνουσιάζων διέτριβεν, χαίρων μὲν καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῷ τοιούτῳ, καὶ δοῦλος ὢν φύσει τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν Νικοκλέα φιλοτιμούμενος. ἐτύγχανον γὰρ ὑπερφιλοτίμως ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ σπουδάζων ἑκάτερος αὐτὸς ἥδιον καὶ ῥᾳθυμότερον ποιεῖσθαι τὸν βίον·

112 Otherwise unknown. The location of the passage in Theopompus Book XV suggests a date in the 350s BCE, although Straton's supposed contemporary Nicocles of Salamis (below,

no gold, or horse, or silver wagon.
Although I wore a tiara, I lie here, black ash."

Theopompus says in Book XV of his *History of Philip* (*FGrH* 115 F 114) that Straton, the king of Sidon,[112] outdid everyone else in the world in the extravagant style in which he lived and in his addiction to luxury. Because the life that Homer in his stories represents the Phaeacians as leading—having festivals, drinking, and listening to citharodes and rhapsodes[113]—is how Straton behaved for a long time. He was even more excited about pleasure than they were, to the extent that the Phaeacians, according to Homer, used to drink in the company of their own wives and daughters,[114] whereas Straton arranged for his parties to include girls who played the pipes, the harp, and the lyre. He imported large numbers of prostitutes from the Peloponnese, and many female musicians from Ionia, and other young women from all over Greece, some of whom were singers, while others danced. He made it a practice to have contests with his friends that involved these women, and he spent all his time with them, both because he enjoyed living this way, since his personality made him a slave to pleasure, and even more important, because he was engaged in a competition with Nicocles.[115] For they were extremely competitive with one another, and each of them was concerned to make his own life the more pleasurable

with n.) belongs a decade or so earlier. A condensed version of this material appears at Ael. *VH* 7.2.

113 Cf. *Od.* 8.248–9 (quoted at 12.513c).

114 Presumably a reference to the regular presence of Arete at the feasts in Alcinous' house (e.g. *Od.* 7.139–42).

115 Nicocles of Salamis (reigned 374/3–*c.* 360 BCE).

οἵ γε προῆλθον εἰς τοσαύτην ἄμιλλαν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν, ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων τάς
d τε παρασκευὰς τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τὰς πολυτελείας | τῶν θυσιῶν τὰς παρ' ἑκατέρῳ γινομένας ἐφιλονίκουν ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀλλήλους. ἐσπούδαζον δὲ δοκεῖν εὐδαίμονες εἶναι καὶ μακαριστοί· οὐ μὴν περί γε τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν διηυτύχησαν, ἀλλ' ἀμφότεροι βιαίῳ θανάτῳ διεφθάρησαν. Ἀναξιμένης δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Βασιλέων Μεταλλαγαὶ περὶ τοῦ Στράτωνος τὰ αὐτὰ ἱστορήσας διημιλλῆσθαί φησιν αὐτὸν Νικοκλεῖ τῷ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ Σαλαμῖνος |
e βασιλεύσαντι ἐσπουδακότι περὶ τρυφὴν καὶ ἀσέλγειαν, ἀποθανεῖν τ' ἀμφοτέρους βιαίως.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν Θεόπομπος περὶ Φιλίππου λέγων φησίν· καὶ τριταῖος εἰς Ὀνόκαρσιν ἀφικνεῖται, χωρίον τι τῆς Θρᾴκης ἄλσος ἔχον πολὺ κατεσκευασμένον καλῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐνδιαιτηθῆναι κεχαρισμένον ἄλλως τε καὶ τὴν θερινὴν ὥραν. ἦν γὰρ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Κότυος προκριθέντων, ὃς ἁπάντων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ γεγενημένων μάλιστα πρὸς ἡδυπαθείας καὶ τρυφὰς ὥρμησε, καὶ περιιὼν |
f τὴν χώραν ὅπου κατίδοι τόπους δένδρεσι συσκίους καὶ καταρρύτους ὕδασι, τούτους κατεσκεύασεν ἑστιατόρια· καὶ φοιτῶν εἰς ἑκάστους ὁπότε τύχοι θυσίας τε τοῖς θεοῖς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ συνῆν μετὰ τῶν ὑπάρχων, εὐδαίμων καὶ μακαριστὸς ὢν ἕως εἰς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν

and easier. Their rivalry became so extreme, I hear, that they questioned their visitors about the furnishings in the other man's house, and about how expensive the sacrifices he made were, and made aggressive efforts to outdo one another in these areas. They were eager to appear to be wealthy and fortunate; but their luck certainly did not continue where the end of their lives was concerned, and instead they both died a violent death. Anaximenes in his work entitled *Royal Ups and Downs* (*FGrH* 72 F 18) offers similar information about Straton, saying that he was a rival of Nicocles, the king of Cyprian Salamis, who was devoted to luxury and lewd behavior, and that both men died violently.

In Book I of his *History of Philip* (*FGrH* 115 F 31) Theopompus says in reference to Philip: Two days later he reached Onocarsis, an area in Thrace that contained a large, beautifully planted grove of trees, and which was a delightful place to spend time in generally, but especially during the summer. It was in fact one of the favorite spots of Cotys,[116] who was, of all the men who had ever been king of Thrace, the one most dedicated to living in elegance and luxury, and who accordingly, whenever in the course of his travels around the country he noticed spots that were full of shade-trees and well-supplied with water, turned them into places to hold feasts. Whenever he visited them, he used to make sacrifices to the gods and spend time there with his commanders, and was rich and extremely happy—until he attempted to blaspheme and of-

[116] Cotys ruled *c.*383–360/59 BCE, and eventually married his daughter or sister to the Athenian general Iphicrates (cf. below; 4.131a n.).

βλασφημεῖν καὶ πλημμελεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν. διηγεῖταί τε ἑξῆς ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὅτι δεῖπνον κατεσκεύασεν ὁ Κότυς ὡς γαμουμένης αὐτῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ θάλαμον κατασκευάσας ἀνέμενεν μεθύων τὴν θεόν. ἤδη δ' ἔκ-
532 φρων γενόμενος || ἔπεμπέ τινα τῶν δορυφόρων ὀψόμενον εἰ παραγέγονεν ἡ θεὸς εἰς τὸν θάλαμον. ἀφικομένου δ' ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος μηδένα εἶναι ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ, τοξεύσας τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ ἄλλον δεύτερον ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἕως ὁ τρίτος συνεὶς παραγενομένην ἔφη πάλαι τὴν θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀναμένειν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὗτός ποτε καὶ ζηλοτυπήσας τὴν αὑτοῦ γυναῖκα ταῖς αὑτοῦ χερσὶν ἀνέτεμε τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰδοίων ἀρξάμενος.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν περὶ Χα-
b βρίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων | <στρατηγοῦ>[33] ἱστορῶν φησιν· οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ζῆν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν καὶ διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν τὴν αὑτοῦ τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον, τὰ δὲ διὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· ἅπασι γάρ εἰσι χαλεποί. διὸ καὶ εἵλοντο αὐτῶν οἱ ἔνδοξοι ἔξω τῆς πόλεως καταβιοῦν, Ἰφικράτης μὲν ἐν Θρᾴκῃ, Κόνων δ' ἐν Κύπρῳ, Τιμόθεος δ' ἐν Λέσβῳ, Χάρης δ' ἐν Σιγείῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Χαβρίας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. καὶ περὶ τοῦ Χάρητος ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῇ φησιν·
c Χάρητός τε νωθροῦ τε ὄντος καὶ βραδέος, | καίτοι γε καὶ πρὸς τρυφὴν ἤδη ζῶντος· ὅς γε περιήγετο στρατευόμενος αὐλητρίδας καὶ ψαλτρίας καὶ πεζὰς ἑταί-

[33] add. Kaibel; but CE have Χαβρίας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος.

fend Athena. Immediately after this, the author explains that Cotys prepared a dinner on the pretence that he was going to marry Athena, and then made the bedroom ready, got drunk, and waited for the goddess. Having by this point lost his mind, he sent one of his bodyguards to see if the goddess was in the bedroom; when the man returned and reported that no one was there, Cotys shot him with his bow and killed him. He killed a second man under the same circumstances, and finally the third man grasped the situation and told him that the goddess had been there for a long time now and was waiting for him. At one point this king became jealous of his wife and carved her up into pieces with his own hands, beginning with her genitals.

In Book XIII of his *History of Philip* (*FGrH* 115 F 105), in his account of the Athenian general Chabrias,[117] (Theopompus) says: since he was unable to live in the city, on account of his crude behavior and the extravagance of his personal lifestyle, on the one hand, and on account of the Athenians, on the other; because they are nasty to everyone. This is why their most distinguished citizens chose to live elsewhere than in the city:[118] Iphicrates in Thrace, Conon in Cyprus, Timotheus on Lesbos, Chares in Sigeum, and Chabrias himself in Egypt. On the subject of Chares, he says in Book XLV (*FGrH* 115 F 213): Chares was sluggish and slow, and was in fact already living in luxury. When he was on campaign, he took pipe-girls, harp-girls, and common prostitutes everywhere with him, and

[117] *PAA* 970820 (*c.*420–357/6 BCE).

[118] Iphicrates (*PAA* 542925), Conon (*PAA* 581750), Conon's son Timotheus (*PAA* 886180), and Chares (*PAA* 979280) all belong to the late 400s and 300s BCE.

ρας, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τῶν εἰσφερομένων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὰ μὲν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ὕβριν ἀνήλισκε, τὰ δ' αὐτοῦ κατέλειπεν Ἀθήνησιν τοῖς τε λέγουσιν καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφουσιν καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοῖς δικαζομένοις· ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐδεπώποτε ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἠγάπα τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ δικαίως· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τοῦτον
d τὸν | τρόπον ἔζων, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν νέους ἐν τοῖς αὐλητριδίοις καὶ παρὰ ταῖς ἑταίραις διατρίβειν, τοὺς δὲ μικρὸν ἐκείνων πρεσβυτέρους ἐν πότοις ‹καὶ› κύβοις[34] καὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀσωτίαις, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἅπαντα πλείω καταναλίσκειν εἰς τὰς κοινὰς ἑστιάσεις καὶ κρεανομίας ἤπερ εἰς τὴν τῆς πόλεως διοίκησιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ τοῦ Θεοπόμπου συγγράμματι Περὶ τῶν Ἐκ Δελφῶν Συληθέντων Χρημάτων, Χάρητι, φησί, τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ διὰ Λυσάνδρου τάλαντα ἑξήκοντα, ἀφ' ὧν ἐδείπνισεν Ἀθηναίους | ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ
e θύσας τὰ ἐπινίκια τῆς γενομένης μάχης πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππου ξένους. ὧν ἡγεῖτο μὲν Ἀδαῖος ὁ Ἀλεκτρυὼν ἐπικαλούμενος· περὶ οὗ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ τῶν κωμῳδιῶν ποιητὴς μέμνηται οὕτως·

Ἀλεκτρυόνα τὸν τοῦ Φιλίππου παραλαβὼν
ἀωρὶ κοκκύζοντα καὶ πλανώμενον
κατέκοψεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν οὐδέπω λόφον.
ἕνα κατακόψας μάλα συχνοὺς ἐδείπνισεν

[34] ἐν πότοις ‹καὶ› κύβοις Kaibel, cf. 12.527a: ἔν τε τοῖς κύβοις A: ἐν κύβοις CE

he used some of the money that was contributed to support the war on outrageous expenses of this sort, and left the rest right there in Athens for the people who were proposing and drafting decrees and for the private citizens who were bringing lawsuits. This never bothered the Athenian people, and the result was instead that they loved him more than any other citizen—and rightly so. For they themselves lived the same way, as a consequence of which their young men spent their time with pipe-girls and prostitutes, and those who were a little older than them drank and shot dice and engaged in similarly profligate behavior, while the populace generally spent more on public feasts and distributions of meat than on managing the war. In the treatise by Theopompus entitled *On the Money Plundered from Delphi* (*FGrH* 115 F 249) the author says: Chares the Athenian got 60 talents from Lysander, and used them to give a dinner in the marketplace for the Athenians when he offered a victory sacrifice to celebrate his battle against Philip's mercenaries.[119] Their commander was Adaeus, nicknamed Rooster; the comic poet Heracleides (fr. 1) mentions him, as follows:

> He caught Philip's Rooster as he was
> squawking and wandering around early in the
> morning,
> and chopped him to pieces; because he didn't have a
> crest.
> Even though he only chopped up one Rooster,
> Chares fed

[119] Perhaps in the late 350s BCE; the Lysander in question is unidentified.

Χάρης Ἀθηναίων τόθ'· ὡς γενναῖος ἦν. |

f τὰ αὐτὰ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Δοῦρις.

Ἰδομενεὺς δέ φησι καὶ τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας Ἱππίαν καὶ Ἵππαρχον εὑρεῖν θαλίας καὶ κώμους· διὸ καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἑταίρων[35] πολλῶν ἐπιπολάσαι τὸ πλῆθος παρ' αὐτοῖς· ὅθεν βαρεῖαν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. καίτοι ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν Πεισίστρατος μετρίως ἐχρῆτο ταῖς ἡδοναῖς· ὅς γε οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς
533 κήποις φύλακας καθίστα, ὡς Θεόπομπος || ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ, ἀλλ' εἶα τὸν βουλόμενον εἰσιόντα ἀπολαύειν καὶ λαμβάνειν ὧν δεηθείη· ὅπερ ὕστερον ἐποίησε καὶ Κίμων μιμησάμενος ἐκεῖνον. περὶ οὗ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἱστορῶν ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ὁ Θεόπομπός φησι· Κίμων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς καὶ τοῖς κήποις οὐδένα τοῦ καρποῦ καθίστα φύλακα, ὅπως οἱ βουλόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσιόντες ὀπωρίζωνται καὶ λαμβάνωσιν εἴ τινος δέοιντο τῶν ἐν
b τοῖς χωρίοις. | ἔπειτα τὴν οἰκίαν παρεῖχε κοινὴν ἅπασι· καὶ δεῖπνον αἰεὶ εὐτελὲς παρασκευάζεσθαι πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοὺς ἀπόρους προσιόντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσιόντας δειπνεῖν. ἐθεράπευεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ τι δεομένους, καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς περιήγετο μὲν ἀεὶ νεανίσκους δύ' ἢ τρεῖς ἔχοντας κέρματα τούτοις τε διδόναι προσέταττεν, ὁπότε τις

[35] ἑταίρων Meineke: ἑταιρῶν Casaubon: ἑτέρων A

120 Hippias (*PAA* 537810; assassinated in 514 BCE) and Hip-

an enormous number of Athenians dinner. What a generous guy he was!

Duris (*FGrH* 76 F 35) tells the same story.

Idomeneus (*FGrH* 338 F 3) claims that Pisistratus' sons Hippias and Hipparchus[120] invented parties and wandering the streets drunk; this is why they were surrounded by a large number of horses and many friends, which led to their rule becoming oppressive. Their father Pisistratus,[121] in fact, adopted a moderate attitude toward pleasure, and did not post guards in his fields or his orchards, according to Theopompus in Book XXI (*FGrH* 115 F 135), but let anyone who wanted enter and enjoy them, and take whatever he needed. Later on Cimon[122] imitated him and adopted the same policy. In his account of the latter in Book X of his *History of Philip* (*FGrH* 115 F 89), Theopompus says: Cimon of Athens did not station guards to protect the crops in his fields or his orchards, allowing any citizens who wanted to enter them and pick the produce and take anything in his fields that they needed. In addition, he opened his house to everyone: a simple dinner sufficient for large numbers of people was always available, and Athens' poor came to his house, went inside, and ate. He also took care of the individuals who asked for something on an occasional basis, and the story goes that he was always accompanied by two or three young men who carried small change, and that he ordered them to hand it out,

parchus (*PAA* 537615) took over their father's tyranny when he died in 527.

[121] *PAA* 771760.

[122] Cimon (*PAA* 569795; *c.*510–450/49 BCE) was one of Athens' most distinguished political and military leaders in the first half of the 5th century.

προσέλθοι αὐτοῦ δεόμενος. καί φασι μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς ταφὴν εἰσφέρειν, ποιεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις, ὁπότε
c τῶν πολιτῶν τινα ἴδοι κακῶς | ἠμφιεσμένον, κελεύειν αὐτῷ μεταμφιέννυσθαι τῶν νεανίσκων τινὰ τῶν συνακολουθούντων αὐτῷ. ἐκ δὴ τούτων ἁπάντων ἠὐδοκίμει καὶ πρῶτος ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν. ὁ δὲ Πεισίστρατος καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς βαρὺς ἐγένετο, ὅτου καὶ τὸ Ἀθήνησι τοῦ Διονύσου πρόσωπον ἐκείνου τινές φασιν εἰκόνα. Περικλέα δὲ τὸν Ὀλύμπιόν φησιν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς ὡς ἀπήλλαξεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν μεθ' ἡδονῆς βίον προείλετο ᾧκει
d τε μετ' Ἀσπασίας | τῆς ἐκ Μεγάρων ἑταίρας καὶ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς οὐσίας εἰς ταύτην κατανάλωσε. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ οὔπω Ἀθηναίων μεθυσκομένων οὐδ' ἑταίραις χρωμένων ἐκφανῶς τέθριππον ζεύξας ἑταιρίδων διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ πληθύοντος ἐωθινὸς ἤλασεν. ἀμφιβόλως δ' αὐτὸ εἴρηκεν ὁ Ἰδομενεύς, εἴτε ἑταίρας τέτταρας συνυπέζευξεν ὡς ἵππους εἴτ' ἀνεβίβασεν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τέθριππον. Πόσσις δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Μαγνητικῶν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φησὶν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ
e τὴν στεφανηφόρον | ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβόντα θῦσαι Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν Παναθήναια ὀνομάσαι καὶ Διονύσῳ Χοοπότῃ θυσιάσαντα καὶ τὴν Χοῶν ἑορτὴν αὐτόθι

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123 Aspasia (*PAA* 222330) was in fact from Miletus rather than Megara, and the confusion is presumably due to the comic account of her involvement in the passage of the Megarian Decree, which in turn helped spark the Peloponnesian War, at Ar. *Ach.* 526–31, where Pericles is referred to as "Olympian."

whenever someone approached him with a request. They also say that he contributed to funeral expenses, and often did the following: whenever he saw a citizen who was badly dressed, he ordered one of the young men accompanying him to trade clothes with the man. As a consequence of all this, he had a fine reputation and was their leading citizen. Pisistratus, on the other hand, was often unpleasant, and some authorities claim that the face of the well-known Dionysus in Athens is modeled on his. Heracleides of Pontus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 59 Wehrli = fr. 43 Schütrumpf = Antisth. Socr. *SSR* V A 144) asserts that Olympian Pericles evicted his wife from his house, adopted a lifestyle devoted to pleasure, and lived with the courtesan Aspasia of Megara,[123] on whom he wasted most of his money. At a time when the Athenians were not yet getting drunk or spending their time with prostitutes, Themistocles[124] openly yoked up a team of four prostitutes and drove them through the Ceramicus at dawn as the area was filling up. Idomeneus' account of this (*FGrH* 338 F 4b)[125] is ambiguous as to whether Themistocles yoked four prostitutes in a team, like horses, or mounted them on a chariot drawn by four horses. Possis in Book III of the *History of Magnesia* (*FGrH* 480 F 1) claims that when Themistocles assumed an office in Magnesia that brought with it the right to wear a garland, he sacrificed to Athena and named the festival the Panathenaia, and that after he sacrificed to Dionysus Choöpotês ("Pitcher-Drinker"), he also introduced the

[124] *PAA* 502610.

[125] The same passage from Idomeneus is cited at 13.576b–c.

καταδεῖξαι. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ Φιλίας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φησὶ τρίκλινον οἰκοδομησάμενον περικαλλέστατον ἀγαπᾶν <ἂν>[36] ἔφησεν, εἰ τοῦτον φίλων πληρώσειεν.

Χαμαιλέων δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀνακρέοντος προθεὶς τὸ

ξανθῇ δ' Εὐρυπύλῃ μέλει
ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων,

f τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην λαβεῖν τὸν | Ἀρτέμωνα διὰ τὸ τρυφερῶς βιοῦντα περιφέρεσθαι ἐπὶ κλίνης. καὶ γὰρ Ἀνακρέων αὐτὸν ἐκ πενίας εἰς τρυφὴν ὁρμῆσαί φησιν ἐν τούτοις·

πρὶν μὲν ἔχων βερβέριον, καλύμματ'
ἐσφηκωμένα,
καὶ ξυλίνους ἀστραγάλους ἐν ὠσὶ καὶ ψιλὸν περὶ
πλευρῇσι < . . . > βοός,
νήπλυτον εἵλυμα κακῆς ἀσπίδος, ἀρτοπώλισιν
534 κἀθελοπόρνοισιν || ὁμιλέων ὁ πονηρὸς Ἀρτέμων,
κίβδηλον εὑρίσκων βίον,
πολλὰ μὲν ἐν δουρὶ τιθεὶς αὐχένα, πολλὰ δ' ἐν
τροχῷ,
πολλὰ δὲ νῶτον σκυτίνῃ μάστιγι θωμιχθείς,
κόμην

[36] add. Kaibel

Choes festival[126] there. Clearchus in Book I of *On Friendship* (fr. 17 Wehrli) says that Themistocles built a gorgeous room for drinking parties and said that he would be happy if he could fill it with friends.

Chamaeleon of Pontus in his *On Anacreon* (fr. 36 Wehrli) begins by citing the passage (Anacr. *PMG* 372):

> Blonde Eurypyle is interested
> in *periphorêtos* Artemon,

(and then claims) that Artemon was referred to this way because he led a luxurious life and was carried around (*peripheresthai*) on a litter.[127] Anacreon (*PMG* 388) says, in fact, that Artemon moved from poverty to luxury, in the following passage:

> Someone who in the old days wore a *berberion*,
> pulled tight to hide his face,
> with wooden knuckle-bones in his ears, and an ox-
> hide
> rubbed bald . . . around his ribs,
> an unwashed sheath for a cheap shield—the nasty
> Artemon,
> who spent his time with bread-women and people
> who chose to be whores,
> discovering a life of fraud,
> who often put his neck in the stocks, and often on the
> wheel,
> whose back was often beaten with a leather whip, and
> who plucked

[126] The festival involved drinking wine from a personal pitcher; see 10.437b–d. [127] But the adjective may well mean "notorious" instead; cf. Ar. *Ach.* 850 with Olson ad loc.

πώγωνά τ᾽ ἐκτετιλμένος·
νῦν δ᾽ ἐπιβαίνει σατινέων χρύσεα φορέων
καθέρματα
† παῖς Κύκης † καὶ σκιαδίσκην ἐλεφαντίνην |
b φορεῖ
γυναιξὶν αὔτως.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου Σάτυρος ἱστορῶν, λέγεται, φησίν, ὅτι ἐν Ἰονίᾳ μὲν ὢν <Ἰώνων>[37] ἐφαίνετο τρυφερώτερος, ἐν Θήβαις δὲ σωμασκῶν καὶ γυμναζόμενος τῶν Θηβαίων αὐτῶν μᾶλλον Βοιώτιος, ἐν Θετταλίᾳ δὲ ἱπποτροφῶν καὶ ἡνιοχῶν τῶν Ἀλευαδῶν ἱππικώτερος, ἐν Σπάρτῃ δὲ καρτερίαν καὶ ἀφέλειαν ἐπιτηδεύων ἐνίκα τοὺς Λάκωνας, ὑπερῆρεν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ἀκρατοποσίαν. τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα
c πειρῶν ὡς ἕτερος | ἔπεμψεν αὐτῇ χιλίους Δαρεικούς. κάλλιστος δὲ ὢν τὴν μορφὴν κόμην τε ἔτρεφεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ὑποδήματα παρηλλαγμένα ἐφόρει, ἃ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδες καλεῖται. ὅτε δὲ χορηγοίη πομπεύων ἐν πορφυρίδι εἰσιὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, ἐθαυμάζετο οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν. διὸ καὶ Ἀντισθένης ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ὡς δὴ αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γεγονὼς τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἰσχυρὸν

[37] add. Musurus

128 Alcibiades (*PAA* 121630) was extremely wealthy and an important figure in the Athenian social and political scene in the final decades of the 5th century BCE.

his hair and beard—
whereas now he rides on a fancy mule-cart, wearing
gold earrings
† child of Cycê † and carries an ivory parasol,
like a woman!

In his description of the noble Alcibiades,[128] Satyrus (fr. 1, *FHG* iii.160 = fr. 20 Schorn) says: People say that when he was in Ionia, he seemed to be more addicted to luxury than the Ionians were; that when he practiced wrestling and worked out in Thebes, he appeared to be more of a Boeotian than the Thebans themselves; that when he raised horses and drove chariots in Thessaly, he was a better equestrian than the Aleuadae;[129] that in his practice of courage and simplicity in Sparta he outdid the Laconians; and that he drank more unmixed wine than the Thracians. As a way of testing his wife, he posed as someone else and sent her 1000 darics.[130] He was exceptionally handsome, and he kept his hair long for most of his life and wore unusual shoes, which get the name Alcibiadeses from him. When he served as a *choregos*,[131] he entered the Theater as part of the procession wearing a purple robe, and it was not just the men who were in awe of him, but the women as well. This is why Socrates' student Antisthenes (*SSR* V A 198), who actually saw Alcibiades with his

[129] An important Thessalian noble family. [130] Persian gold coins (which got their name from King Darius).

[131] A wealthy man required (as a form of taxation) to provide funds to train the chorus and underwrite many of the other expenses associated with a performance of tragedy, comedy, or dithyramb in Athens.

αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνδρώδη καὶ εὐπαίδευτον[38] καὶ τολμηρὸν καὶ ὡραῖον ἐφ' ἡλικίας <πάσης>[39] γενέσθαι φησίν. εἰς
d | δὲ τὰς ἀποδημίας ὁπότε στέλλοιτο, τέσσαρσι τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων ὥσπερ θεραπαίναις ἐχρῆτο· σκηνὴν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ Περσικὴν ἔπησσον Ἐφέσιοι, τροφὴν δὲ τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτοῦ Χῖοι παρεῖχον, ἱερεῖα δὲ παρίστασαν εἰς τὰς θυσίας καὶ κρεανομίας Κυζικηνοί, Λέσβιοι δὲ οἶνον παρεῖχον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν. ἀφικόμενος δ' Ἀθήνησιν ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας δύο πίνακας ἀνέθηκεν, Ἀγλαοφῶντος γραφήν· ὧν ὁ μὲν εἶχεν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ Πυθιάδα στεφα-
e νούσας αὐτόν, ἐν δὲ θατέρῳ | Νεμέα ἦν καθημένη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς Ἀλκιβιάδης, καλλίων φαινόμενος τῶν γυναικείων προσώπων. καὶ στρατηγῶν δὲ ἔτι καλὸς εἶναι ἤθελεν· ἀσπίδα γοῦν εἶχεν ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένην, ἐφ' ἧς ἦν ἐπίσημον Ἔρως κεραυνὸν ἠγκυλημένος. ἐπικωμάσας δέ ποτε ὡς Ἄνυτον ἐραστὴν ὄντα καὶ πλούσιον, συνεπικωμάζοντος αὐτῷ τῶν ἑταίρων ἑνὸς Θρασύλλου (τῶν πενήτων δ' οὗτος ἦν), προπιὼν τῷ Θρασύλλῳ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν ποτηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ κυλικείῳ προκειμένων ἐκέλευσε
f τοὺς | ἀκολούθους ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὸν Θράσυλλον· εἶθ' οὕτω φιλοφρονησάμενος τὸν Ἄνυτον ἀπηλλάσ-

[38] εὐπαίδευτον Dalechamp (*optimis institutis eruditum*): ἀπαίδευτον ACE [39] add. Kaibel, cf. Plu. *Alc.* 1

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132 Plu. *Alc.* 12.1 is very similar (but makes no mention of the Cyzicenes).

own eyes, reports that he was strong, courageous, sophisticated, bold, and good-looking throughout his entire life. Whenever he traveled abroad, he used four of the allied cities like servant-girls; because the Ephesians pitched a Persian-style tent for him, the Chians supplied fodder for his horses, the Cyzicenes furnished animals for his sacrifices and distributions of meat, and the Lesbians supplied wine and his other daily needs.[132] When he returned to Athens from Olympia,[133] he dedicated two votive-plaques painted by Aglaophon; one depicted the personified Olympic and Pythian festivals placing garlands on his head, while Nemea was seated on the other, with Alcibiades—whose face was more beautiful than a woman's—on her knees.[134] Alcibiades even wanted to look good when he was serving as general. He had a shield, for example, that was made of gold and ivory, and the emblem on the front of it was Eros hurling a lightning-bolt.[135] At one point he wandered drunk to the house of his wealthy lover Anytus, accompanied by Thrasyllus,[136] who was one of his friends (but had no money). After proposing a toast to Thrasyllus, he told his slave-attendants to carry off half of the cups that were stored in the cupboard to Thrasyllus' house; and then, after thus demonstrating the depth of his affection

[133] Sc. after the astonishing performance of his chariot-teams there in 420 BCE; cf. 1.3d–e.

[134] Pausanias apparently saw the plaque that depicted Nemea (1.22.7; cf. Plu. *Alc.* 16.5). For Aglaophon, see Plin. *Nat.* 35.60, who dates him to the Olympiad 420–417 BCE (cf. above).

[135] For Alcibiades' shield-device, cf. Plu. *Alc.* 16.2.

[136] Anytus and Thrasyllus are *PAA* 139460 and 517485, respectively.

σετο. ὁ δὲ Ἄνυτος πάνυ ἐλευθερίως καὶ ἐρωτικῶς, λεγόντων τινῶν ὡς ἀγνώμονα εἴη πεποιηκὼς Ἀλκιβιάδης, "οὐ μὰ Δί'," ἔφη, "ἀλλ' εὐγνώμονα· ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἅπαντα λαβεῖν τὰ ἡμίσια κατέλιπεν." Λυσίας δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ περὶ τῆς τρυφῆς αὐτοῦ λέγων φησίν· ἐκπλεύσαντες γὰρ κοινῇ Ἀξίοχος καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον ἔγημαν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ δύο ὄντε Μεδοντίδα ||
535 τὴν Ἀβυδηνὴν καὶ ξυνῳκείτην. ἔπειτα αὐτοῖν γίνεται θυγάτηρ, ἣν οὐκ ἔφαντο δύνασθαι γνῶναι ὁποτέρου εἴη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν ἀνδρὸς ὡραία, ξυνεκοιμῶντο καὶ ταύτῃ, καὶ εἰ μὲν χρῷτο καὶ ἔχοι Ἀλκιβιάδης, Ἀξιόχου ἔφασκεν εἶναι θυγατέρα· εἰ δὲ Ἀξίοχος, Ἀλκιβιάδου. κεκωμῴδηται δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Εὐπόλιδος ὡς καὶ ἀκόλαστος πρὸς γυναῖκας ἐν Κόλαξιν οὕτως·

b (Α.) Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξίτω. | (Β.) *τί ληρεῖς;*
οὐκ οἶκαδ' ἐλθὼν τὴν σεαυτοῦ γυμνάσεις
δάμαρτα;

καὶ Φερεκράτης δέ φησιν·

οὐκ ὢν ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὡς δοκεῖ,
ἀνὴρ ἁπασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστι νῦν.

ἐν Σπάρτῃ δὲ ὢν ἔφθειρε τὴν Ἄγιδος τοῦ βασιλέως γυναῖκα Τίμαιαν· ἐπιπληττόντων δ' αὐτῷ τινων, οὐκ ἀκρασίας ἕνεκεν συνελθεῖν ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὁ γενόμενος ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσῃ τε τῆς Σπάρτης καὶ μηκέτι λέ-

for Anytus, he left. When some people remarked that Alcibiades had acted thoughtlessly, Anytus responded exactly as a free man and a lover should, and said: "No, by Zeus; he behaved quite well. Because he could have taken them all, and instead he left half!" The orator Lysias (fr. 8 Carey)[137] describes his addiction to luxury and says: Because Axiochus and Alcibiades sailed off together to the Hellespont, and in Abydus both of them married Medontis of Abydus and lived with her. Later they had a daughter and claimed to be unable to tell whose she was. So when she reached puberty, they both slept with her as well; and if Alcibiades had her and was enjoying her, he claimed she was Axiochus' daughter, and *vice versa*. Eupolis in *Flatterers* (fr. 171) makes fun of him for his lack of self-control where women were involved, as follows:

> (A.) Let Alcibiades leave the women's ranks! (B.)
> What're you babbling about?
> Go home and exercise your own wife!

Pherecrates (fr. 164) as well says:

> For although Alcibiades isn't a man, so it seems,
> he's now every woman's man.

When he was in Sparta, he seduced Timaea, the wife of King Agis.[138] When people criticized him for this, he said that he had not slept with her out of simple recklessness, but in order that his son could be king of Sparta, so that

[137] Cf. 13.574d. Axiochus is *PAA* 139755.

[138] Timaea is Poralla #695; the Agis in question is Agis II (Poralla #26; reigned 427/6–400 BCE). Alcibiades was in exile at this point; see below.

γωνται οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀλλ' ἀπ' Ἀλκι-
c βιάδου. στρατηγῶν δὲ | συμπεριήγετο αὐτῷ τήν
τε Λαΐδος τῆς Κορινθίας μητέρα Τιμάνδραν καὶ
Θεοδότην τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἑταίραν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν φυγὴν
κυρίους Ἀθηναίους ποιήσας τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ
πλείους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων Πελοποννησίους λαβὼν
ἀνέπεμψεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. κατιών τε μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς
τὴν πατρίδα ἐστεφάνωσε τὰς Ἀττικὰς τριήρεις θαλλῷ
καὶ μίτραις καὶ ταινίαις, καὶ ἀναψάμενος τὰς αἰχμα-
λώτους ναῦς ἠκρωτηριασμένας εἰς διακοσίας ἱππα-
d γωγούς τε ἄγων σκύλων καὶ ὅπλων | Λακωνικῶν καὶ
Πελοποννησιακῶν μεστὰς εἰσέπλει. ἡ δὲ τριήρης ἐφ'
ἧς αὐτὸς κατέπλει μέχρι μὲν τῶν κλείθρων τοῦ Πει-
ραιέως προέτρεχεν ἁλουργοῖς ἱστίοις· ὡς δ' ἐντὸς ἦν
καὶ τὰς κώπας ἔλαβον οἱ ἐρέται, Χρυσόγονος μὲν
ηὔλει τὸ τριηρικὸν ἐνδεδυκὼς τὴν Πυθικὴν στολήν,
Καλλιππίδης δ' ὁ τραγῳδὸς ἐκέλευε τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς
σκηνῆς στολὴν ἠμφιεσμένος. διὸ καὶ χαριέντως εἶπέν
τις· "οὔτ' ἂν δύο Λυσάνδρους ὑπήνεγκεν ἡ Σπάρτη
οὔτ' ἂν δύ' Ἀλκιβιάδας Ἀθῆναι." ἐμιμεῖτο δὲ Ἀλκι-

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139 A famous courtesan; cf. 12.544b, d; 13.574e–f (probably drawn from the same source, although Laïs' mother is there called Damasandra). 140 *PAA* 505035.

141 In 415 BCE, in the aftermath of the Affair of the Herms.

142 In 408 BCE. 143 Stephanis #2637. His "Pythian robes" indicated that he had been victorious in the games at Delphi. All these details appear to come from Duris *FGrH* 76 F 70, cited by Plu. *Alc.* 32.2 (who is dubious of the story).

their kings would no longer be said to be descended from Heracles, but from Alcibiades. When he was serving as general, he used to take Timandra, the mother of Laïs of Corinth,[139] everywhere with him, along with the Athenian courtesan Theodote.[140] After he went into exile,[141] he got control of the Hellespont for the Athenians; he captured more than 5000 Peloponnesians and sent them off to Athens. Later, when he returned to his native land,[142] he hung olive branches, strips of cloth, and ribbons over the Athenian triremes; lashed about 200 captured ships with their prows lopped off to them; and sailed into harbor at the head of a column of horse-transport ships full of plunder, including Spartan and Peloponnesian arms. The trireme on which he personally sailed into port came all the way up to the Piraeus booms using sea-purple sails, and once it was inside the harbor and the rowers had taken hold of the oars, Chrysogonus[143] began to play the trireme-song on the pipes, wearing his Pythian robes, while the tragic actor Callippides[144] gave the commands, dressed in his stage-costume. This is why someone made the witty comment: "Sparta couldn't have put up with two Lysanders any more than Athens could with two Alcibiadeses!"[145] Alcibiades

144 O'Connor #274; Stephanis #1348; *PAA* 558950. He was victorious five times at the Lenaia.

145 Ael. *VH* 11.7 divides this into two separate quotations, one (about Lysander) by a Spartan, the other (about Alcibiades) by an Athenian. Lysander (Poralla #504; d. 395 BCE) was Sparta's most important general in the final years of the 5th century and the beginning of the 4th, but came to be regarded as dangerously over-ambitious.

e βιάδης | τὸν Παυσανίου Μηδισμὸν καὶ καθομιλῶν Φαρνάβαζον τὴν Περσικὴν ἐνεδύετο στολὴν καὶ τὴν Περσικὴν ἔμαθε φωνήν, καθάπερ καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς.

Δοῦρις δ' ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, Παυσανίας μέν, φησίν, ὁ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν βασιλεὺς καταθέμενος τὸν πάτριον τρίβωνα τὴν Περσικὴν ἐνεδύετο στολήν. ὁ δὲ Σικελίας τύραννος Διονύσιος ξυστίδα καὶ χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐπὶ περόνῃ μετελάμβανε τραγικόν. Ἀλέξανδρος δ' ὡς τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκυρί-
f ευσεν, Περσικαῖς ἐχρῆτο | στολαῖς. Δημήτριος δὲ πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ὑπόδεσιν ἣν εἶχεν κατεσκεύαζεν ἐκ πολλοῦ δαπανήματος· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ μὲν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἐργασίας σχεδὸν ἐμβάτης πίλημα λαμβάνων τῆς πολυτελεστάτης πορφύρας, τούτῳ δὲ χρυσοῦ πολλὴν ἐνύφαινον ποικιλίαν ὀπίσω καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἐνιέντες οἱ τεχνῖται. αἱ δὲ χλαμύδες αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ὄρφνινον ἔχουσαι τὸ φέγγος τῆς χρόας, τὸ δὲ πᾶν ὁ πόλος ἐνύφαντο χρυσοῦς ἀστέρας ἔχων καὶ τὰ
536 δώδεκα ζῴδια. || μίτρα δὲ χρυσόπαστος ἦν, <ἣ>[40] καυσίαν ἁλουργῆ οὖσαν ἔσφιγγεν, ἐπὶ τὸ νῶτον φέρουσα τὰ τελευταῖα καταβλήματα τῶν ὑφασμάτων.

[40] add. Schweighäuser

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146 Pausanias (Poralla #595) was Sparta's greatest general in the post-Persian War years.

147 A Persian satrap with whom Alcibiades took refuge, and who ultimately had him murdered in 404/3 BCE. Cf. 13.570c n., 574e.

148 Themistocles (*PAA* 502610; cf. 12.533d–e) was

followed Pausanias'[146] example in adopting Persian manners, and when he was trying to win over Pharnabazus,[147] he began to wear Persian clothes and learned to speak the language, just as Themistocles did.[148]

Duris says in Book XXII of his *History* (*FGrH* 76 F 14): The Spartan king Pausanias gave up the rough robe traditionally worn in his country and began to dress in Persian clothing; the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius[149] altered his style of dress to a *xustis*[150] and a gold garland held on with a pin, like those worn in tragedy; and after Alexander took control of Asia, he wore Persian robes. But Demetrius[151] outdid them all; for he spent enormous sums on the production of the shoes he wore. They were constructed more or less like *embatai*, but the felt was made from extremely expensive purple fabric, and the cobblers wove a large amount of gold decoration into it and attached it to the front and back. His cloaks, meanwhile, were a shiny reddish-black color, and images of the night sky, complete with gold stars and the 12 signs of the Zodiac, were woven into them from one end to the other. His tiara was spangled with gold and was wrapped tight around a sea-purple Macedonian hat, and the fringe extended down his back. When the Demetria festival was celebrated in Athens, the

ostracized sometime in the late 470s BCE and eventually made his way to Asia Minor, where Artaxerxes I appointed him governor of Magnesia on the Maeander; cf. 1.29f–30a with n.

149 Presumably Dionysius I (d. 367 BCE).

150 A long, ornately decorated robe of soft, rich fabric.

151 Demetrius Poliorcetes (336–283 BCE), the son of Antigonus I. For the details of his costume (below), cf. Plu. *Demetr.* 41.4.

γινομένων δὲ τῶν Δημητρίων Ἀθήνησιν ἐγράφετο ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκηνίου ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰκουμένης ὀχούμενος.

Νύμφις δ' ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν ἕκτῳ τῶν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, Παυσανίας, φησίν, ὁ περὶ Πλαταιὰς νικήσας Μαρδόνιον, τὰ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐξελθὼν νόμιμα καὶ εἰς ὑπερηφανίαν ἐπιδοὺς περὶ Βυζάντιον διατρίβων
b τὸν χαλκοῦν κρατῆρα τὸν ἀνακείμενον τοῖς | θεοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος ἱδρυμένοις, ὃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἶναι συμβαίνει, ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιγράψαι ὡς αὐτὸς ἀναθείη, ὑποθεὶς τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν ἐπιλαθόμενος αὑτοῦ·

μνᾶμ' ἀρετᾶς ἀνέθηκε Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι
Παυσανίας ἄρχων Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου
πόντου ἐπ' Εὐξείνου, Λακεδαιμόνιος γένος, υἱὸς
Κλεομβρότου, ἀρχαίας Ἡρακλέος γενεᾶς.

Ἐτρύφησεν δὲ καὶ Φάραξ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ὡς |
c Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἱστορεῖ· καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς οὕτως ἀσελγῶς ἐχρήσατο καὶ χύδην ὥστε πολὺ μᾶλλον διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην αὐτὸν ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι Σικελιώτην ἢ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα Σπαρτιάτην. ἐν δὲ τῇ πεντηκοστῇ καὶ δευτέρῃ φησὶν ὡς Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Λάκων ἀποστὰς τῆς πατρίου διαίτης συνηθίσθη

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152 I.e. the backdrop for the stage in the Theater of Dionysus, since the Demetria festival was actually the City Dionysia celebrated under another name (Plu. *Demetr.* 12.2; cf. 6.252f–3f).

153 In 479 BCE, in the great battle that finally drove the Per-

proskênion[152] featured a picture of him being carried on the shoulders of Oikoumenê ("the Inhabited World").

Nymphis of Heracleia says in Book VI of his history of his native land (*FGrH* 432 F 9): Pausanias, who defeated Mardonius at Plataea,[153] abandoned Spartan customs and surrendered to arrogance; when he was staying in Byzantium, he dared to inscribe on the bronze mixing-bowl that was dedicated to the gods whose sanctuaries are located at the mouth of the harbor, and which is still preserved today, that he had dedicated it personally, by adding the following epigram ('Simon.' *FGE* 835–8), having been carried away by his addiction to luxury and his arrogance:

> As a monument to his courage, Pausanias, the leader
> of spacious Greece, dedicated (this) to lord
> Poseidon
> at the edge of the Euxine Sea; (he was) a Spartan by
> birth, the son
> of Cleombrotus, and from the ancient race of
> Heracles.

Theopompus in Book XL (*FGrH* 115 F 192) reports that Pharax of Sparta[154] was also addicted to luxury; he was so crudely and completely devoted to enjoying himself, that he was far more likely to be suspected of being from Sicily on that account, than to be thought a Spartan because of his origins. And in Book LII (*FGrH* 115 F 232) he says that after Archidamus of Sparta[155] abandoned his ancestral lifestyle, he grew accustomed to behaving in a soft,

sians decisively out of Greece. For a similar anecdote, cf. Th. 1.132.2. For Pausanias, see 12.535e n.

[154] Poralla #717.

[155] Archidamus III (Poralla #158) reigned 359–338 BCE.

ξενικῶς καὶ μαλακῶς· διόπερ οὐκ ἠδύνατο τὸν οἴκοι
βίον ὑπομένειν, ἀλλ' ἐσπούδαζεν αἰεὶ δι' ἀκρασίαν
ἔξω διατρίβειν. καὶ Ταραντίνων πρεσβευσαμένων
d περὶ συμμαχίας ἔσπευσε | συνεξελθεῖν αὐτοῖς βοη-
θός· κἀκεῖ γενόμενος καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀποθανὼν οὐδὲ
ταφῆς κατηξιώθη, καίτοι Ταραντίνων πολλὰ χρήματα
ὑποσχομένων τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνελέσθαι
αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα. Φύλαρχος δὲ ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστο-
ριῶν Θρᾳκῶν φησι τῶν καλουμένων Κροβύζων βασι-
λέα γενέσθαι Ἰσάνθην, τρυφῇ πάντας τοὺς καθ'
ἑαυτὸν ὑπερβαλλόμενον· ἦν δὲ καὶ πλούσιος καὶ κα-
λός. ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ ὁ αὐτὸς Πτολεμαῖόν
e φησι τὸν δεύτερον Αἰγύπτου | βασιλεύσαντα, πάντων
σεμνότατον γενόμενον τῶν δυναστῶν καὶ παιδείας εἴ
τινα καὶ ἄλλον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμεληθέντα οὕτως ἐξαπα-
τηθῆναι τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ διαφθαρῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκαί-
ρου τρυφῆς ὥστε τὸν πάντα χρόνον ὑπολαβεῖν βιώ-
σεσθαι καὶ λέγειν ὅτι μόνος εὕροι τὴν ἀθανασίαν.
κατατεινόμενον οὖν ὑπὸ ποδάγρας πλείους ἡμέρας, ὥς
ποτ' οὖν ἐρράισεν καὶ κατεῖδεν διά τινων ὑπολαμ-
πάδων τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀριστοποι-
ουμένους καὶ τὰ τυχόντα προσφερομένους ἐπί τε τῆς
ἄμμου χύδην ἐρριμμένους, εἶπεν· "ὦ τάλας ἐγώ, τὸ
μηδὲ τούτων ἕνα γενέσθαι."
f Περὶ δὲ Καλλίου καὶ τῶν τούτου κολάκων | φθάνο-
μεν καὶ πρότερον εἰπόντες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ καινῶς Ἡρακλεί-

156 Otherwise unknown.

foreign style; he was accordingly unable to tolerate life at home and was always eager to spend time abroad, because of his lack of self-control. When the inhabitants of Tarentum sent an embassy seeking an alliance, he was eager to travel back with them to lend them his support; when he got there and died in the war, he was not regarded as deserving burial, even though the Tarentines offered a substantial amount of money to their enemies in an attempt to recover his body. Phylarchus says in Book X of his *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 20) that Isanthes[156] became king of the Thracian tribe known as the Crobyzoi and outdid all his contemporaries in the extent of his addiction to luxury; he was both rich and handsome. And in Book XXII (*FGrH* 81 F 40) the same author claims that, despite the fact that the second Ptolemy to become king of Egypt[157] was the most august of rulers and as devoted to learning as anyone ever has been, he was so deluded and corrupted by his inopportune addiction to luxury that he imagined that he was going to live forever and claimed that he alone had discovered the secret to immortality. So when he was tortured by gout for many days, and then eventually recovered and looked out a window and saw average Egyptians having lunch on the riverbanks, eating simple food and lounging on the sand, he said: "Poor me—I wish I was one of them!"

We discussed Callias and his flatterers earlier.[158] But since Heracleides of Pontus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 58

[157] Ptolemy II Philadelphus (reigned 285/3–246 BCE).

[158] Perhaps a reference to 5.218b–c (where the discussion, however, is less detailed than would seem to be implied here). The Callias in question is Callias III (*PAA* 554500), and is to be distinguished from his ancestors who bore the same name (below).

δης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἄνωθεν ἀναλαβὼν διηγήσομαι. ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον εἰς Εὔβοιαν ἐστράτευσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, τότε, ὥς φασιν, Ἐρετριεὺς ἀνὴρ Διόμνηστος κύριος ἐγένετο τῶν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ χρημάτων· ἔτυχεν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ τῷ ἐκείνου σκηνῶν καὶ τὰ χρήματα εἰς οἰκημά τι θέμενος
537 τῆς οἰκίας, || τελευτησάντων δὲ πάντων διέλαθεν ἔχων ὁ Διόμνηστος τὸ χρυσίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἐρέτριαν στράτευμα, προστάξας ἀνάστατον ποιῆσαι[41] τὴν πόλιν, εἰκότως ὑπεξετίθεντο ὅσοι χρημάτων ηὐπόρουν. οἱ οὖν καταλελειμμένοι τῆς τοῦ Διομνήστου οἰκίας παρ' Ἱππόνικον τὸν Καλλίου τὸν Ἄμμωνα ἐπικαλούμενον
b ὑπεξέθεντο τὰ χρήματα | εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἀνασκευασθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἁπάντων <τῶν>[42] Ἐρετριέων κατέσχον οὗτοι τὰ χρήματα πολλὰ ὄντα. ὥστε Ἱππόνικος ὁ ἀπ' ἐκείνου γεγονὼς τοῦ τὴν παρακαταθήκην λαβόντος ᾔτησεν Ἀθηναίους ποτὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τόπον ἵν' οἰκοδομήσηται τοῖς χρήμασιν ὅπου κείσεται, λέγων ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ὂν ἐν ἰδιωτικῇ οἰκίᾳ πολλὰ χρήματα εἶναι. καὶ ἔδοσαν <ἂν>[43] Ἀθη-

[41] ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ποιῆσαι A: γενέσθαι del. Dindorf: ποιῆσαι del. Schweighäuser [42] add. Musurus
[43] add. Wilamowitz

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159 In 490 BCE, when the Persian commander Datis burned and enslaved the city. The story that follows is historically confused—doubtless in large part because it is untrue.

Wehrli = fr. 42 Schütrumpf) offers some unusual information about him, I will take the matter up from the beginning and give you the full story. When the Persians made their initial attack on Euboea,[159] people say, at that point a man from Eretria named Diomnestus got control of the commander's money; because the commander pitched his tent in Diomnestus' field and put his money in a storage box inside it, and when they all died, no one realized that Diomnestus had his gold. When the Persian king sent a second expedition against Euboea, he ordered them to destroy the city, and the rich people—as one would expect—quietly transferred their assets elsewhere. The surviving members of Diomnestus' family discreetly sent their money off to Athens to Hipponicus the son of Callias, who was nicknamed Ammon;[160] when all the inhabitants of Eretria were sent into exile by the Persians, (Callias and Hipponicus) got control of the money—of which there was quite a bit.[161] As a consequence, Hipponicus, the son of the Callias who had taken control of the money entrusted to him,[162] eventually asked the Athenians for a spot on the Acropolis to build a storeroom for his money, arguing that it was dangerous to keep such large sums in a private house. The Athenians would have given it to him; but one

[160] Hipponicus I (*PAA* 538905). His by-name apparently indicates an association with the oracular shrine of Zeus Ammon in Libya. His father is Callias I (*PAA* 554470). [161] In fact, the family's enormous wealth came primarily from mining; see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971) 259–61. Plu. *Aristid.* 5.5–6 preserves a similarly wild tale about the origins of Callias' wealth. [162] Hipponicus II (*PAA* 538910), the son of Callias II (*PAA* 554480).

ναῖοι· νουθετηθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων μετενόησεν. τούτων οὖν τῶν χρημάτων[44] Καλλίας κύριος γενόμενος καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν βιώσας—ποῖοι γὰρ οὐ κόλακες ἢ τί πλῆθος οὐχ ἑταίρων περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, ποίας δὲ δαπάνας οὐχ ὑπερεώρα | ἐκεῖνος;—ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰς τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν περιέστησεν ὁ περὶ ἡδονὴν βίος ὥστε μετὰ γραδίου βαρβάρου διατελεῖν ἠναγκάσθη καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνδεὴς γενόμενος τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν. τὸν δὲ Νικίου, φησί, τοῦ Περγασῆθεν πλοῦτον ἢ τὸν Ἰσχομάχου τίνες ἀπώλεσαν; οὐκ Αὐτοκλέης καὶ Ἐπικλέης, οἳ μετ' ἀλλήλων ζῆν προελόμενοι καὶ πάντ' ἐν ἐλάττονι ποιούμενοι τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἐπειδὴ πάντα κατανάλωσαν, κώνειον πιόντες ἅμα τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν;

Περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ | πάνυ τρυφῆς Ἔφιππος μὲν ὁ Ὀλύνθιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἡφαιστίωνος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Τελευτῆς φησιν ὅτι ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἔκειτο αὐτῷ χρυσοῦς θρόνος καὶ κλῖναι ἀργυρόποδες, ἐφ' ὧν καθεζόμενος ἐχρημάτιζε μετὰ τῶν ἑταίρων. Νικοβούλη δέ φησιν ὅτι παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον πάντες οἱ ἀγωνισταὶ ἐσπούδαζον τέρπειν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ δείπνῳ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπεισόδιόν τι ἀπομνημονεύσας ἐκ τῆς Εὐριπίδου Ἀνδρομέδας ἠγωνίσατο καὶ τὸν ἄκρατον προθύμως προπίνων καὶ

[44] sic CE: οὖν ὄντων τῶν χρημάτων A

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163 *PAA* 712685.

of his friends advised against the idea, and he changed his mind. So Callias had control of this money and devoted his life to pleasure—and what flatterers and what a mass of friends surrounded him! and what opportunity for spending money did he ever pass up?—but all the same, his hedonistic lifestyle reduced him to such a condition that he was forced to live with an old barbarian woman and died lacking even the most basic necessities of life. And as for the wealth of Nicias of Pergase[163] or Ischomachus,[164] (Heracleides) says, who used it up? Was it not Autocles and Epicles,[165] who decided to live together and make pleasure their absolute priority, and who, after they spent everything they had, drank hemlock and died in one another's company?

As for the addiction to luxury of Alexander the Great, Ephippus of Olynthus in his *On the Death of Hephaestion and Alexander* (*FGrH* 126 F 4) says that a gold throne and couches with silver feet were set up for him in the park, and that (Alexander) used to sit on these, in the company of his inner circle, and conduct his business. Nicoboule[166] (*FGrH* 127 F 2) claims that all the actors tried to keep the king amused during dinner, and that at his final dinner Alexander himself acted out a scene from Euripides' *Andromache* from memory, and aggressively proposed

[164] *PAA* 542610. He is probably to be identified with the wealthy landowner (*PAA* 542570, 542575, 542585) who appears in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, and was the first husband of one of Callias III's wives, and the father of another; see J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 B.C.* (Oxford, 1971) 265–8.

[165] *PAA* 238935 and 393135, respectively. For the anecdote, cf. Ael. *VH* 4.23.

[166] Cf. 10.434c with n.

e τοὺς ἄλλους | ἠνάγκαζεν. Ἔφιππος δέ φησιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐφόρει ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, ὁτὲ μὲν τὴν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος πορφυρίδα καὶ περισχιδεῖς καὶ κέρατα καθάπερ ὁ θεός, ὁτὲ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ἣν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος ἐφόρει πολλάκις, ἔχων τὴν Περσικὴν στολήν, ὑποφαίνων ἄνωθεν τῶν ὤμων τό τε τόξον καὶ τὴν σιβύνην, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σχεδὸν καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν χλαμύδα τε πορφυρᾶν καὶ χιτῶνα μεσόλευκον
f καὶ τὴν καυσίαν ἔχουσαν τὸ διάδημα | τὸ βασιλικόν, ἐν δὲ τῇ συνουσίᾳ τά τε πέδιλα καὶ τὸν πέτασον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸ κηρύκειον ἐν τῇ χειρί, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ λεοντῆν καὶ ῥόπαλον ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς. τί οὖν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς Κόμμοδος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀχημάτων παρακείμενον εἶχεν τὸ Ἡράκλειον ῥόπαλον ὑπεστρωμένης αὐτῷ λεοντῆς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς καλεῖσθαι ἤθελεν, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοτελικοῦ τοσούτοις αὐτὸν ἀφομοιοῦντος θεοῖς, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι; ἔρρανε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ μύρῳ σπου-
538 δαίῳ καὶ οἴνῳ εὐώδει τὸ δάπεδον, || ἐθυμιᾶτο δὲ αὐτῷ σμύρνα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θυμιάματα, εὐφημία τε καὶ σιγὴ κατεῖχε πάντας ὑπὸ δέους τοὺς παρόντας· ἀφόρητος γὰρ ἦν καὶ φονικός· ἐδόκει γὰρ εἶναι μελαγχολικός. ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις δὲ ποιήσας τῷ Διονύσῳ θυσίαν καὶ

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167 Shoes of some sort, which were "split around" the sides.

168 I.e. Hermes' costume, marking the comment about Alexander's everyday costume as an intrusion of some sort into the text.

169 The comment about Alexander's character—which is not

toasts of unmixed wine and forced the other members of the group (to drink). Ephippus (*FGrH* 126 F 5) also says that Alexander wore sacred garments at dinner parties: sometimes Ammon's purple robe, *perischideis*,[167] and horns, like the god; at other times Artemis' costume (which he often wore when he was on his chariot), dressing in a Persian robe and allowing his bow and his quiver to be seen hanging from his shoulders; on occasion Hermes' costume; otherwise, generally, on an everyday basis a purple cloak, an off-white tunic, and his Macedonian hat with the royal diadem on it, but at parties the sandals, the traveler's hat on his head, and the herald's staff in his hand;[168] and frequently a lion-skin and a club, like Heracles. Why then does it come as a surprise that in our own day the emperor Commodus had Heracles' club lying beside him on his chariot, and a lion-skin stretched out beneath him, and wanted to be referred to as Heracles, given that Aristotle's student Alexander tried to make himself resemble so many gods, including Artemis? Alexander also had the ground sprinkled with expensive perfume and sweet-smelling wine, and myrrh and other fragrant substances were burned in his honor, and everyone present remained respectfully silent out of terror; because he was impossible and bloodthirsty, and appeared to be unbalanced.[169] He made a sacrifice to Dionysus in Ecbatana,[170] and the ar-

drawn from Ephippus, who was the king's contemporary (Berve i #331)—is also intended to apply obliquely to Commodus (sole emperor 180–92 CE), despite the superficially panegyric, exculpatory tone of the passage.

[170] In Spring 324 BCE, at which point there were tensions with Athens (see below) in connection with Alexander's Exiles Decree.

πάντων δαψιλῶς ἐν τῇ θοίνῃ παρασκευασθέντων, καὶ Σατραβάτης ὁ σατράπης τοὺς στρατιώτας εἱστίασε πάντας. ἀθροισθέντων δὲ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν, φησὶν ὁ Ἔφιππος, κηρύγματα ἐγίνετο ὑπερήφανα καὶ τῆς
b Περσικῆς ὑπεροψίας αὐθαδέστερα· | ἄλλων γὰρ ἄλλο τι ἀνακηρυττόντων καὶ στεφανούντων τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, εἷς τις τῶν ὁπλοφυλάκων ὑπερπεπαικὼς πᾶσαν κολακείαν κοινωσάμενος τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκέλευσε τὸν κήρυκα ἀνειπεῖν ὅτι, "Γόργος ὁ ὁπλοφύλαξ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἄμμωνος υἱὸν στεφανοῖ χρυσίοις[45] τρισχιλίοις, καὶ ὅταν Ἀθήνας πολιορκῇ, μυρίαις πανοπλίαις καὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καταπέλταις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις βέλεσιν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἱκανοῖς." Χάρης δ' ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἱστοριῶν, ὅτε, φησίν, εἶλε Δαρεῖον,
c γάμους | συνετέλεσεν ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων, ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο θαλάμους κατασκευασάμενος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ. ἦν δὲ ὁ οἶκος ἑκατοντάκλινος, ἐν ᾧ ἑκάστη ἦν κλίνη κεκοσμημένη στολῇ γαμικῇ εἴκοσι μνῶν ἀργυρᾶ· ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ χρυσόπους ἦν. συμπαρέλαβεν δὲ εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον καὶ τοὺς ἰδιοξένους ἅπαντας καὶ κατέκλινεν ἀντιπροσώπους ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νυμφίοις, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν πεζήν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας καὶ τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦν-

[45] χρυσίοις Olson: χρυσοῖς A

171 I.e. offering him extravagant gifts (or promises of gifts), as what follows makes clear. Cf. 12.539a with n.

rangements for the feast were all lavish, and the satrap Satrabates hosted a dinner for all the soldiers. Large crowds gathered to watch, according to Ephippus, and arrogant proclamations were made that were even more misguided than the insolence typical of the Persians; because as various people were making this proclamation and that, and garlanding Alexander,[171] one of the armorers, going beyond all normal flattery, with Alexander's complicity ordered the herald to announce: "Gorgus the armorer[172] garlands Alexander the son of Ammon with 3000 gold coins; and whenever he besieges Athens, (Gorgus promises to garland him) with 10,000 complete suits of armor, and an equal number of catapults, and with all the other missiles he needs for the war." Chares says in Book X of his *History involving Alexander* (*FGrH* 125 F 4): When he overthrew Darius,[173] he concluded marriages for himself and his friends, setting up 92 bed-chambers in a single spot. The structure was large enough to hold 100 couches, and every couch in it was decorated with a marriage robe worth 20 *minas* of silver;[174] his own couch had gold feet. He brought all his personal friends along to the party, and had them lie down opposite himself and the other bridegrooms, while the rest of his foot-soldiers and sailors, along with the ambassadors and other visitors, were given

[172] Berve i #236.

[173] Darius was killed by his own men in 330 BCE, after it became obvious that his defense of his empire had failed. The mass marriage of Alexander's men to local women, on the other hand, took place in 324. A condensed version of the material that follows is preserved also at Ael. *VH* 8.7.

[174] ⅓ of a talent.

d τας ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ. | κατεσκεύαστο δὲ ὁ οἶκος πολυτελῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἱματίοις τε καὶ ὀθονίοις πολυτελέσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ ταῦτα πορφυροῖς καὶ φοινικοῖς χρυσουφέσιν. τοῦ δὲ μένειν τὴν σκηνὴν ὑπέκειντο κίονες εἰκοσαπήχεις περίχρυσοι καὶ διάλιθοι καὶ περιάργυροι. περιεβέβληντο δὲ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ πολυτελεῖς αὐλαῖαι ζῳωτοὶ καὶ διάχρυσοι, κανόνας ἔχουσαι περιχρύσους καὶ περιαργύρους. τῆς δ' αὐλῆς ἦν τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοι τέσσαρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ τὰ δεῖπνα πρὸς
e σάλπιγγα τότε μὲν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις, καὶ ἄλλως | δ' αἰεὶ ὅτε τύχοι σπονδοποιούμενος, ὥστε πᾶν εἰδέναι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπὶ πέντε δὲ ἡμέρας ἐπετελέσθησαν οἱ γάμοι, καὶ ἐλειτούργησαν πάνυ πολλοὶ καὶ βαρβάρων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς θαυματοποιοὶ ἦσαν διαπρέποντες < . . . > Σκύμνος Ταραντῖνος καὶ Φιλιστίδης Συρακόσιος Ἡράκλειτός τε ὁ Μιτυληναῖος· μεθ' οὓς ἐπεδείξατο ῥαψῳδὸς Ἄλεξις Ταραντῖνος. παρῆλθον δὲ καὶ ψιλοκιθαρισταὶ Κρατῖνος Μηθυμναῖος, Ἀριστώνυμος Ἀθηναῖος, Ἀθηνόδωρος Τήιος· ἐκιθαρῴδησαν δὲ Ἡράκλειτός τε ὁ Ταραντῖνος καὶ
f Ἀριστοκράτης | ὁ Θηβαῖος. αὐλῳδοὶ δὲ παρῆλθον Διονύσιος ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης, Τπέρβολος Κυζικηνός·

175 I.e. on the floor. 176 Literally "20 cubits."

177 Literally "four stades."

178 Scymnus of Tarentum is Berve i #713; Stephanis #2285. Philistides of Syracuse is Berve i #791; Stephanis #2508. Heracleitus of Mitylene is Berve i #351; Stephanis #1092. Cf. 1.20a, which is clearly a reference to the same passage of Chares.

couches in the courtyard. The structure was expensively and ostentatiously decorated with costly draperies and linen cloths, beneath which[175] was purple and scarlet fabric with gold woven into it. Gilded columns 30 feet[176] high, set with precious stones and covered with silver, were set beneath the canopy to keep it in place. Expensive curtains with animals woven into them and shot through with gold extended around the perimeter; the rods that held them up were gilded and silvered. The courtyard was half a mile[177] in circumference. The meal was organized by trumpet-blasts, some of which came during the marriage ceremonies, while others occurred whenever (the king) was making a libation, so that the entire army would know what was going on. The marriage-celebrations went on for five days, and enormous numbers of barbarians and Greeks performed; the Indian magicians were outstanding . . . Scymnus of Tarentum, Philistides of Syracuse, and Heracleitus of Mitylene;[178] after them, the rhapsode Alexis of Tarentum[179] put on a show. The *psilokitharistai*[180] Cratinus of Methymna, Aristonymus of Athens, and Athenodorus of Teos[181] also appeared; and Heracleitus of Tarentum and Aristocrates of Thebes[182] played the lyre and sang. The aulodes Dionysius of Heracleia and Hyper-

179 Berve i #44; Stephanis #127.

180 *Psilokitharistai* played the *kithara* (lyre), but did not sing along with it.

181 Cratinus of Methymna is Berve i #449; Stephanis #1494. Aristonymus of Athens is Berve i #141; Stephanis #398; *PAA* 201920. Athenodorus of Teos is Berve i #28; Stephanis #76.

182 Heracleitus of Tarentum is Berve i #352; Stephanis #1093. Aristocrates of Thebes is Berve i #124; Stephanis #345.

παρῆλθον δὲ καὶ αὐληταί, οἳ πρῶτον τὸ Πυθικὸν ηὔλησαν, εἶθ' ἑξῆς μετὰ τῶν χορῶν, Τιμόθεος, Φρύνιχος, Καφισίας, Διόφαντος, ἔτι δὲ Εὔιος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς. καὶ ἔκτοτε οἱ πρότερον καλούμενοι Διονυσοκόλακες Ἀλεξανδροκόλακες ἐκλήθησαν διὰ τὰς τῶν δώρων ὑπερβολάς, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ ἥσθη ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος. ὑπεκρίθησαν δὲ τραγῳδοὶ μὲν Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος ||
539 καὶ Ἀριστόκριτος, κωμῳδοὶ δὲ Λύκων καὶ Φορμίων καὶ Ἀρίστων. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Φασίμηλος ὁ ψάλτης. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες, φησί, στέφανοι ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ταλάντων ἦσαν μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων. Πολύκλειτος δ' ὁ Λαρισαῖος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἐπὶ χρυσῆς κλίνης κοιμᾶσθαί φησι τὸν
b Ἀλέξανδρον | καὶ αὐληπρίδας αὐτῷ καὶ αὐλητὰς αἰεὶ ἕπεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ πίνειν ἄχρι τῆς ἕω. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Βίων περὶ Δαρείου λέγων τοῦ καθαιρεθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου φησίν· ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἀθλοθετῶν τοῖς τὰς ἡδονὰς αὐτῷ πορί-

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183 Dionysius of Heracleia is Berve i #277; Stephanis #723. Hyperbolus of Cyzicus is Berve i #761; Stephanis #2446.

184 Timotheus of Thebes is Berve i #749; Stephanis #2417. Phrynichus is Berve i #815; Stephanis #2585. Caphisias is Berve i #416; Stephanis #1387. Diophantus is Berve i #282; Stephanis #783. Euius of Chalcis is Berve i #315; Stephanis #952.

185 Literally "Dionysus-flatterers," i.e. actors; cf. 6.249f n.

186 Thessalus is Berve i #371; O'Connor # 239; Stephanis #1200; *PAA* 513215. Athenodorus of Teos is Berve i #28; O'Connor #13; Stephanis #75; *PAA* 110960. Aristocritus is Berve i

bolus of Cyzicus[183] were also there, as were the pipe-players Timotheus, Phrynichus, Caphisias, and Diophantus, along with Euius of Chalcis;[184] they first played the Pythian piece and then performed immediately afterward with their choruses. From then on the individuals previously referred to as *Dionusokolakes*[185] were known as *Alexandrokolakes* ("Alexander-flatterers"), because of the extravagance of the gifts made to the performers Alexander enjoyed. The tragic actors Thessalus, Athenodorus, and Aristocritus[186] gave performances, as did the comic actors Lycon, Phormio, and Ariston.[187] The harp-player Phasimelus[188] was also there. The garlands[189] sent by the ambassadors and the other guests, says (Chares), were worth 15,000 talents. Polyclitus of Larisa in Book VIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 128 F 1) claims that Alexander slept on a gold couch, and that pipe-girls and pipe-players always went with him to his camp and drank there until dawn. Clearchus says in his *On Lives* (fr. 50 Wehrli), in his discussion of the Darius who was killed by Alexander:[190] Although the Persian king established prizes for anyone who provided him with new pleasures, he put it beyond doubt

#125; O'Connor #65; Stephanis #352. For these performances, cf. Plu. *Alex.* 29.1–3.

[187] Lycon of Locrian Scarphe is Berve i #478; O'Connor #319; Stephanis #1567; *PAA* 611915. Phormio is Berve i #811; O'Connor #498; Stephanis #2579. Ariston is Berve i #140; O'Connor #74; Stephanis #377.

[188] Berve i #769; Stephanis #2463.

[189] I.e. "the gifts"; cf. 12.538b n., above.

[190] I.e. Darius III, who was in fact killed not by Alexander, but by his own men in 330 BCE. The fragment is clearly an intrusion into what is otherwise an extended discussion of Alexander in particular.

ζουσιν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἡδέων ἠττωμένην ἀπέδειξε τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ καταγωνιζόμενος ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἤσθετο πρότερον ἢ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἕτεροι λαβόντες ἀνεκηρύχθησαν. | Φύλαρχος δ' ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν καὶ Ἀγαθαρχίδης ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ Περὶ Ἀσίας καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους φησὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑπερβαλλούσῃ τρυφῇ χρήσασθαι. ὧν εἷς ὢν καὶ Ἄγνων χρυσοῦς ἥλους ἐν ταῖς κρηπῖσι[46] καὶ τοῖς ὑποδήμασιν ἐφόρει. Κλεῖτος δ' ὁ Λευκὸς καλούμενος ὅτε χρηματίζειν μέλλοι, ἐπὶ πορφυρῶν ἱματίων διαπεριπατῶν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν διελέγετο. Περδίκκᾳ δὲ καὶ Κρατερῷ φιλογυμναστοῦσιν ἠκολούθουν διφθέραι σταδιαῖαι τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, ὑφ' αἷς περιλαμβάνοντες τόπον ἐν ταῖς καταστρατοπεδείαις ἐγυμνάζοντο· ἠκολούθει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑποζύγια πολλὰ τὰ τὴν κόνιν κομίζοντα πρὸς τὴν | ἐν τῇ παλαίστρᾳ χρείαν. Λεοννάτῳ δὲ καὶ Μενελάῳ φιλοκυνήγοις οὖσιν αὐλαῖαι σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἠκολούθουν, αἷς περιστάντες τὰς θήρας ἐκυνήγουν. τὰς δὲ χρυσᾶς πλατάνους καὶ τὴν χρυσῆν ἄμπελον, ὑφ' ἣν οἱ Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ἐχρημάτιζον πολλάκις καθήμενοι, σμαραγδίνους βότρυς ἔχουσαν καὶ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ἀνθράκων ἄλλων τε παντοδαπῶν λίθων ὑπερβαλλόντων ταῖς πολυτελείαις, ἐλάτ-

[46] κρηπῖσι καὶ τοῖς ὑποδήμασιν ACE: καὶ τοῖς ὑποδήμασιν del. Kaibel

that all this high living brought about the collapse of his kingship, although he failed to realize that he was defeating himself, until others took away his sceptre and were proclaimed the ruler. Phylarchus in Book XXIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 81 F 41) and Agatharchides of Cnidus in Book X of *On Asia* (*FGrH* 86 F 3) claim that the members of Alexander's inner circle lived in extraordinary luxury.[191] Hagnon,[192] who was one of them, wore gold nails in his boots and his sandals. When Cleitus (the one known as "the White")[193] was going to conduct business, he walked around on purple robes while talking to the people he was meeting. Because Perdiccas and Craterus[194] loved to work out, their baggage included hides that totaled 100s of yards[195] in length, with which they fenced off an area wherever the army camped to exercise in. Their baggage-train also included a large number of draft-animals that carried the dust needed for their wrestling pit. And because Leonnatus and Menelaus[196] liked to hunt, their baggage included about 12 miles[197] of fabric screens, with which they surrounded the areas where they hunted. As for the gold plane-trees and the gold grapevine beneath which the Persian kings commonly sat to conduct their business, and which featured grapes made of emeralds as well as of Indian rubies and extremely expensive jewels of all other

[191] The opening section of Ael. *VH* 9.3 is very similar to what follows; cf. Plu. *Alex.* 40.1. [192] Berve i #17.

[193] Berve i #428; to be distinguished from Cleitus "the Black" (Berve i #427). [194] Berve i #627 and 446, respectively.

[195] Literally "a number of stades."

[196] Berve i #466 and 505, respectively.

[197] Literally "100 stades."

τω φησὶν ὁ Φύλαρχος φαίνεσθαι τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν
ἑκάστοτε γινομένης παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δαπάνης. ἦν
γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἡ σκηνὴ κλινῶν ἐνενήκοντα, χρυσοῖ δὲ
κίονες πεντήκοντα κατεῖχον αὐτήν, οἱ δὲ ὑπερτείνοντες
e οὐρανίσκοι | διάχρυσοι ποικίλμασιν ἐκπεπονημένοι
πολυτελέσιν ἐσκέπαζον τὸν ἄνω τόπον. καὶ πρῶτοι
μὲν Πέρσαι πεντακόσιοι μηλοφόροι περὶ αὐτὴν ἐντὸς
εἱστήκεσαν πορφυραῖς καὶ μηλίναις ἐσθῆσιν ἐξησκη-
μένοι· μετὰ δὲ τούτους τοξόται τὸν ἀριθμὸν χίλιοι, οἱ
μὲν φλόγινα ἐνδεδυκότες, οἱ δὲ ὑσγινοβαφῆ, πολλοὶ
δὲ καὶ κυάνεα εἶχον περιβόλαια. προειστήκεσαν δὲ
τούτων ἀργυράσπιδες Μακεδόνες πεντακόσιοι. κατὰ
δὲ μέσην τὴν σκηνὴν χρυσοῦς ἐτίθετο δίφρος, ἐφ' οὗ
καθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν σωματο-
φυλάκων πανταχόθεν ἐφεστηκότων. ἔξωθεν δὲ κύκλῳ
f τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ | τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἄγημα διεσκευασμέ-
νον ἐφειστήκει καὶ Μακεδόνες χίλιοι Μακεδονικὰς
στολὰς ἔχοντες, εἶτα μύριοι Πέρσαι, τό τε τὴν πορφύ-
ραν ἔχον πλῆθος εἰς πεντακοσίους ἦν, οἷς Ἀλέξαν-
δρος ἔδωκε φορεῖν τὴν στολὴν ταύτην. τοσούτων δὲ
ὄντων καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν θεραπευόντων οὐδεὶς
ἐτόλμα προσπορεύεσθαι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· τοιοῦτον ἐγεγό-
νει τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξίωμα. ἔγραψεν δὲ καί ποτε Ἀλέξ-
ανδρος καὶ ταῖς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεσιν καὶ πρώτοις Χίοις,
540 || ὅπως αὐτῷ πορφύραν ἀποστείλωσιν· ἤθελεν γὰρ
τοὺς ἑταίρους ἅπαντας ἁλουργὰς ἐνδῦσαι στολάς.
ἀναγνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς Χίοις παρὼν Θεό-

types, Phylarchus claims that these appeared to be worth less than what Alexander routinely spent in a day. For his tent was large enough to accommodate 90 couches; 50 gold columns supported it; and the canopies that extended overhead and covered the top had gold woven into them and were expensively embroidered. 500 Persian "apple-bearers"[198] stood in a first ring around its inside perimeter, dressed in purple and quince-colored clothing; after them were 1000 bowmen, some wearing flame-colored robes, others crimson, while many had cobalt-blue wraps; and in front of them stood 500 Macedonians carrying silver shields.[199] A gold throne stood in the middle of the tent; Alexander sat on it to conduct his business, with his bodyguards stationed on all sides. Outside the tent and surrounding it stood the elephant corps in full armor, along with 1000 Macedonians wearing Macedonian clothing, and then 10,000 Persians, while the group that wore purple, and to whom Alexander had granted the privilege of dressing this way, numbered 500. Although Alexander had so many friends and servants, no one dared to approach him; this is how extraordinary the majesty was that surrounded him.[200] Alexander wrote at one point to the Ionian cities, and in particular to the Chians, asking them to send him purple fabric, because he wanted to dress all the members of his inner circle in sea-purple clothing. After the letter was read to the Chians, the sophist Theoc-

198 Cf. 12.514b–c.

199 An elite infantry unit (D.S. 17.57.2; cf. Plb. 5.79.4).

200 A slightly condensed version of the preceding discussion of Alexander's tent and the terror he inspired is preserved in the second section of Ael. *VH* 9.3.

κριτος ὁ σοφιστὴς νῦν ἐγνωκέναι ἔφη τὸ παρ᾽ Ὁμήρῳ εἰρημένον·

ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή.

Ἀντίοχον δὲ τὸν Γρυπὸν ἐπικαλούμενον βασιλέα φησὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τὰς ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ πανηγύρεις ἐπιτελοῦντα ὑποδο-
b χὰς λαμπρὰς ἐπιτελεῖν, | ἐν αἷς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀναδόσεις ἐγίγνοντο ὁλομελῶν βρωμάτων, εἶτ᾽ ἤδη καὶ ζώντων χηνῶν καὶ λαγωῶν καὶ δορκάδων. ἀνεδίδοντο δέ, φησίν, καὶ χρυσοῖ στέφανοι τοῖς δειπνοῦσιν καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων πλῆθος καὶ θεραπόντων καὶ ἵππων καὶ καμήλων. ἔδει τε ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ τὴν κάμηλον ἕκαστον πιεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν[47] τὴν κάμηλον καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τὴν κάμηλον καὶ τὸν παρεστῶτα παῖδα. ἐν δὲ τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ περὶ τοῦ ὁμωνύμου αὐτοῦ Ἀντιόχου λέγων
c τοῦ ἐπ᾽ Ἀρσάκην εἰς Μηδίαν στρατεύσαντός | φησιν ὅτι ὑποδοχὰς ἐποιεῖτο καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ὀχλικάς· ἐν αἷς χωρὶς τῶν ἀναλισκομένων καὶ ἐκφατνιζομένων σωρευμάτων ἕκαστος ἀπέφερε τῶν ἑστιατόρων ὁλομελῆ κρέα χερσαίων τε καὶ πτηνῶν καὶ θαλαττίων ζῴων ἀδιαίρετα ἐσκευασμένα, ἅμαξαν πληρῶσαι δυνάμενα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μελιπήκτων καὶ στεφάνων ἐκ σμύρνης

[47] λαβεῖν τε ACE: τε om. 5.210e

ritus,[201] who was there, said that he now understood the Homeric line (*Il.* 5.83):

Purple death and a harsh fate lay hold of him.

Posidonius in Book XXVIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 21a = fr. 72a Edelstein–Kidd)[202] says that when the King Antiochus nicknamed Grypus ("Hook-nose")[203] was celebrating his festivals at Daphne, he gave spectacular parties, at which, first of all, whole animals were distributed, followed by live geese, hares, and gazelles. Gold garlands were also given out to the dinner-guests, he reports, along with large quantities of silver vessels, slaves, horses, and camels. Everyone was required to mount his camel, have a drink, and take the camel, plus whatever was on it and the slave standing beside it. And in Book XIV (*FGrH* 87 F 9a = fr. 61a Edelstein–Kidd),[204] discussing another king named Antiochus, he says that when he invaded Media, attacking Arsaces, he gave receptions for large numbers of people every day. In addition to the heaps of food consumed or thrown away at these, everyone who attended the feast took away whole uncarved cuts of meat from land-animals, birds, and sea-creatures, enough to fill a cart, and after that large amounts of honey-cakes, garlands made of myrrh,

201 See *FHG* ii.86; and cf. 1.21c n.; 8.344b with n.

202 The same passage of Posidonius is quoted, with a few minor variants, also at 5.210d–e.

203 Antiochus VIII Grypus (reigned 125/1–96 BCE). Daphne was located outside of Antioch (one of the Seleucid royal capitals)

204 The same passage of Posidonius is quoted, with some minor variants, also at 5.210e–f, immediately after fr. 72b Edelstein–Kidd (cf. above). The Antiochus in question is Antiochus VII Sidetes (reigned 139–129 BCE).

καὶ λιβανωτοῦ ‹σὺν›[48] ἀνδρομήκεσι λημνίσκων χρυσῶν πιλήμασιν πλήθη.

Κλύτος δ' ὁ Ἀριστοτελικὸς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Μιλήτου
d Πολυκράτην φησὶ τὸν Σαμίων τύραννον ὑπὸ | τρυφῆς τὰ πανταχόθεν συνάγειν, κύνας μὲν ἐξ Ἠπείρου, αἶγας δὲ ἐκ Σκύρου, ἐκ δὲ Μιλήτου πρόβατα, ὗς δ' ἐκ Σικελίας. Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Σαμίων Ὥρων ἐκ πολλῶν πόλεών φησιν κοσμηθῆναι τὴν Σάμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυκράτους, κύνας μὲν Μολοττικὰς καὶ Λακαίνας εἰσαγαγόντος, αἶγας δ' ἐκ Σκύρου καὶ Νάξου, πρόβατα δ' ἐκ Μιλήτου καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. μετεστέλλετο δέ, φησί, καὶ τεχνίτας ἐπὶ μισθοῖς μεγίστοις. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ τυραννῆσαι κατασκευασάμενος στρωμνὰς πολυτελεῖς
e | καὶ ποτήρια ἐπέτρεπε χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἢ γάμον ἢ μείζονας ὑποδοχὰς ποιουμένοις. ἐκ πάντων οὖν τούτων ἄξιον θαυμάζειν τὸν τύραννον, ὅτι οὐδαμόθεν ἀναγέγραπται γυναῖκας ἢ παῖδας μεταπεμψάμενος, καίτοι περὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρρένων ὁμιλίας ἐπτοημένος, ὡς καὶ ἀντερᾶν Ἀνακρέοντι τῷ ποιητῇ· ὅτε καὶ δι' ὀργὴν ἀπέκειρε τὸν ἐρώμενον. πρῶτος δ' ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ ναῦς πήξας ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος Σαμαίνας ἐκάλεσεν. Κλέαρχος δέ φησιν ὡς Πολυκράτης ὁ τῆς ἁβρᾶς
f Σάμου τύραννος διὰ | τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀκολασίαν ἀπώλετο, ζηλώσας τὰ Λυδῶν μαλακά. ὅθεν τῷ τ' ἐν Σάρδεσιν Ἀγκῶνι Γλυκεῖ προσαγορευομένῳ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Σαμίοις λαύραν ἀντικατεσκεύασεν ἐν τῇ πόλει

[48] hab. 5.210d

and frankincense with ribbons of pressed gold as long as a man is tall.

Aristotle's follower Clytus in his *On Miletus* (*FGrH* 490 F 2) claims that Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos,[205] was so addicted to luxury that he collected goods from everywhere: dogs from Epirus, goats from Scyros, sheep from Miletus,[206] and pigs from Sicily. And Alexis in Book III of the *Annals of Samos* (*FGrH* 539 F 2) reports that Polycrates made Samos a more attractive place by importing Molossian and Spartan dogs, goats from Scyros and Naxos, and sheep from Miletus and Attica. He also sent for craftsmen, he says, and offered them extremely high wages. Before Polycrates became tyrant, he had expensive couches and cups made, and allowed anyone who was celebrating a wedding or having a large party to use them. Given all this, it is appropriate to express astonishment at the fact that the tyrant is nowhere recorded as having sent for women or boys, even though he got very excited about sex with males, to the extent that he and the poet Alcman were rivals in love; this was the occasion when he got angry and cut off his boyfriend's hair.[207] Polycrates was the first to construct the ships known as Samainai, after his native land. Clearchus (fr. 44 Wehrli) claims that Polycrates, the tyrant of dainty Samos, was ruined by his reckless personal behavior, because he aspired to Lydian effeminacy. He accordingly constructed the alley in the city on Samos that imitates the area in Sardis known as Sweet Embrace,[208] and wove the notorious "Samian flowers" to match the

[205] Reigned *c.*535–522 BCE. [206] Cf. 12.519b n.
[207] Cf. Anacr. *PMG* 414; Ael. *VH* 9.4.
[208] Cf. 12.516a (also drawn from Clearchus).

καὶ τοῖς Λυδῶν ἄνθεσιν ἀντέπλεξε τὰ διαγγελθέντα Σαμίων ἄνθεα. τούτων δὲ ἡ μὲν Σαμίων λαύρα στενωπή τις ἦν γυναικῶν δημιουργῶν, καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ἀκρασίαν πάντων[49] ὄντως ἐνέπλησε
541 τὴν Ἑλλάδα· || τὰ δὲ Σαμίων ἄνθη γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν κάλλη διάφορα. ἔτι δὲ τῆς συμπάσης πόλεως ἐν ἑορταῖς τε καὶ μέθαις < . . . > καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέαρχος· οἶδα δὲ κἀγὼ παρὰ τοῖς ἐμοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν λαύραν τινὰ καλουμένην μέχρι καὶ νῦν Εὐδαιμόνων, ἐν ᾗ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τρυφὴν ἐπωλεῖτο.

Ἀλκισθένην δὲ τὸν Συβαρίτην φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς Θαυμασίοις[50] ὑπὸ τρυφῆς ἱμάτιον τοιοῦτον κατασκευάσασθαι τῇ πολυτελείᾳ ὡς προτίθεσθαι αὐτὸ ἐπὶ Λακινίου ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῆς Ἥρας, εἰς ἣν
b συμπορεύονται | πάντες Ἰταλιῶται, καὶ τῶν δεικνυμένων <μάλιστα>[51] πάντων ἐκεῖνο θαυμάζεσθαι. οὗ φασι κυριεύσαντα Διονύσιον τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀποδόσθαι Καρχηδονίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι ταλάντων. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Πολέμων περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν Καρχηδόνι Πέπλων. περὶ δὲ Σμινδυρίδου τοῦ Συβαρίτου καὶ τῆς τούτου τρυφῆς ἱστόρησεν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ, ὡς ἀποπλέων ἐπὶ τὴν μνηστείαν τῆς Κλεισθένους τοῦ Σικυωνίων τυράννου θυγατρὸς Ἀγαρίστης, φησίν, ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰταλίης <ἦλ-

[49] πάντων βρωμάτων A: βρωμάτων del. Olson

[50] τοῖς περὶ τρυφῆς Θαυμασίοις A: ἐν τῷ περὶ τρυφῆς CE: περὶ τρυφῆς del. Casaubon

[51] add. Kaibel ex Aristotele

"Lydian flowers." As for the above, the "Samian alley" was a narrow street occupied by working women, and it literally filled Greece with everything that promotes hedonism and reckless behavior, while the "Samian flowers" were exceptionally beautiful women and men. In addition, since the entire city was devoted to festivals and drunkenness . . . Thus Clearchus; but I am personally familiar with an alley in my native city of Alexandria[209] referred to even today as the Rich People's Alley, where luxury goods of every sort were for sale.

According to Aristotle in his *Marvels* (838ª15–21), Alcisthenes[210] of Sybaris was so addicted to luxury that he had such an expensive robe made that it was put on display in Lacinium at Hera's festival, which all the Italians attend, and was regarded as the most astonishing of all the objects exhibited. After the elder Dionysius[211] got possession of it, they say, he sold it to the Carthaginians for 120 talents. Polemon also discusses it in his work entitled *On the Robes in Carthage* (fr. 85 Preller). Herodotus in Book VI told the story of Smindyrides of Sybaris and his addiction to luxury, describing how he sailed off to court Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon:[212] From Italy, he

[209] Although there are no individual speakers in Book 12 (cf. 12.510b n.), this remark is either assigned implicitly to the character Plutarch (who is from Alexandria) or comes direct from Athenaeus' source.

[210] Called Alcimenes in the manuscripts of Aristotle.

[211] Dionyius I, tyrant of Syracuse, who reigned from the end of the 5th century to 367 BCE.

[212] Cf. 6.273b–d with n.; 12.511c; *VH* 12.24.

c θε⟩[52] Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἱπποκράτεος Συβαρίτης, | ὃς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ χλιδῆς εἷς ἀνὴρ ἀφίκετο. εἵποντο γοῦν αὐτῷ χίλιοι μάγειροι καὶ ὀρνιθευταί. ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ νεωτέρου Σικελίας τυράννου τρυφῆς Σάτυρος ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἱστορῶν ἐν τοῖς Βίοις πληροῦσθαί φησιν παρ' αὐτῷ τριακοντακλίνους οἴκους ὑπὸ τῶν εὐωχουμένων. καὶ Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Βίων γράφει οὕτως· Διονύσιος δ' ὁ Διονυσίου ἁπάσης γενόμενος Σικελίας ἀλάστωρ εἰς τὴν Λοκρῶν πόλιν παρελθὼν οὖσαν αὐτῷ
d | μητρόπολιν (Δωρὶς γὰρ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος ἦν Λοκρις) στρώσας οἶκον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν μέγιστον ἐρπύλλοις καὶ ῥόδοις μετεπέμπετο μὲν ἐν μέρει τὰς Λοκρῶν παρθένους· καὶ γυμνὸς μετὰ γυμνῶν οὐδὲν αἰσχύνης παρέλιπεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρώματος κυλινδούμενος. τοιγαροῦν μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον οἱ ὑβρισθέντες γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα ἐκείνου λαβόντες ὑποχείρια ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ στήσαντες μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐνηκολάσταινον αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς ὕβρεως πλήρεις ἐγένοντο, κεντοῦντες ὑπὸ τοὺς τῶν χειρῶν ὄνυχας βελόναις ἀνεῖλον αὐτούς. καὶ
e τελευτησάντων | τὰ μὲν ὀστᾶ κατέκοψαν ἐν ὅλμοις, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κρεανομησάμενοι ἐπηράσαντο πάντες τοῖς μὴ γευσαμένοις αὐτῶν· ὅθεν πρὸς τὴν ἀνόσιον ἀρὰν κατήλεσαν αὐτῶν τὰς σάρκας, ἵν' ἡ τροφὴ σιτοποιουμένων κατεδεσθῇ· τὰ δὲ λεύψανα κατεπόντωσαν.

[52] add. Kaibel ex Herodoto

says (6.127.1), came Smindyrides the son of Hippocrates of Sybaris, who was more devoted to luxury than any of the others. He was accompanied, for example, by 1000 cooks and fowlers. Timaeus also discusses him in Book VII (*FGrH* 566 F 9).

Satyrus the Peripatetic in his *Lives* (fr. 2, *FHG* iii.160 = fr. 21 Schorn) offers an account of the addiction to luxury of the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius the Younger,[213] saying that he had rooms large enough to hold 30 couches that were filled with people feasting. So too Clearchus in Book IV of his *Lives* (fr. 47 Wehrli) writes as follows: Dionysius the son of Dionysius, the scourge of all of Italy, visited Locris, which was his ancestral city on his mother's side (because his mother was a Dorian whose family came from Locris); covered the floor of the largest house in town with thyme and roses; summoned the local girls, one after another; and committed every possible disgraceful deed, rolling around naked in the sheets with naked women. Shortly thereafter, therefore, the people he had insulted captured his wife and children,[214] stood them in the street, and brutally raped them; when they felt they had abused them enough, they jammed needles under their fingernails and executed them. After they were dead, they ground up their bones in mortars, chopped up the rest of their bodies, and called down a common curse on anyone who refused to eat part of them. In order to satisfy their unholy curse, therefore, they ground up their flesh, so that they could make food from it and consume it; and they threw the leftovers

213 Reigned 367–357 BCE.

214 The revolt took place in the mid-340s BCE; cf. Ael. *VH* 9.8 (an account closely related to this one); Str. 6.259–60.

αὐτὸς δὲ Διονύσιος τέλος μητραγυρτῶν καὶ τυμπανοφορούμενος οἰκτρῶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν. εὐλαβητέον οὖν τὴν καλουμένην τρυφὴν οὖσαν τῶν βίων ἀνατροπὴν ἁπάντων τε ὀλέθριον ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν ὕβριν.

Διόδωρος δ' ὁ Σικελιώτης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Βιβλιο-
f θήκης | Ἀκραγαντίνους φησὶ κατασκευάσαι Γέλωνι κολυμβήθραν πολυτελῆ τὸ περίμετρον ἔχουσαν σταδίων ἑπτά, βάθος δὲ πηχῶν εἴκοσι, εἰς ἣν ἐπαγομένων ποταμίων καὶ κρηναίων ὑδάτων ἰχθυοτροφεῖον εἶναι καὶ πολλοὺς παρέχεσθαι ἰχθῦς εἰς τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν τῷ Γέλωνι· καθίπτασθαι δὲ καὶ κύκνων πλῆθος εἰς αὐτήν, ὡς γίνεσθαι ἐπιτερπεστάτην τὴν θέαν. ὕστερον δὲ αὕτη διεφθάρη καταχωσθεῖσα. Δοῦ-
542 ρις δὲ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα || καὶ πλησίον Ἱππωνίου πόλεως ἄλσος τι δείκνυσθαι κάλλει διάφορον καὶ κατάρρυτον ὕδασιν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τόπον τινὰ εἶναι καλούμενον Ἀμαλθείας Κέρας, ὃ τὸν Γέλωνα κατασκευάσαι. Σιληνὸς δ' ὁ Καλλατιανὸς ἐν τρίτῳ Σικελικῶν περὶ Συρακούσας φησὶν κῆπον εἶναι πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένον, ὃν καλεῖσθαι Μῦθον, ἐν ᾧ χρηματίζειν Ἱέρωνα τὸν βασιλέα. ἡ δὲ Πανορμῖτις τῆς Σικελίας πᾶσα κῆπος προσαγορεύεται διὰ τὸ πᾶσα εἶναι πλήρης δένδρων ἡμέρων, ὥς φησιν Καλλίας ἐν ὀγδόῃ τῶν Περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα Ἱστοριῶν. Ποσει-

215 Dionysius ultimately retired into private life in Corinth, and—despite Clearchus' slanders—most likely led a very pleasant life.

into the sea. Dionysius himself ultimately had a miserable death, carrying a drum as a wandering priest of Cybele.[215] We should accordingly avoid what is known as "luxury," since it ruins lives, and regard insolent behavior as universally destructive.

Diodorus of Sicily in his *On the Library* (11.25.4) reports that the inhabitants of Acragas constructed an expensive swimming pool almost a mile[216] around and 30 feet[217] deep for Gelon;[218] river- and spring-water was diverted into it, and it served as a fishpond and provided large numbers of fish to support Gelon's luxurious, hedonistic lifestyle. A flock of swans also settled in it, lending it an extremely attractive appearance. Later on, however, it silted up and disappeared. Duris in Book IV of his *On Agathocles* (*FGrH* 76 F 19) (says) that a lovely, well-watered grove is pointed out near the city of Hipponium, and that a spot within it is known as Amaltheia's Horn,[219] and was constructed by Gelon. Silenus of Calacte in Book III of the *History of Sicily* (*FGrH* 175 F 4) reports that there is an expensively planted garden near Syracuse called Mythus,[220] where King Hieron[221] conducted his business. The entire area around Panormus in Sicily is referred to as a garden, because it is all full of fruit-trees, according to Callias in Book VIII of his *History involving Agathocles* (*FGrH* 564

216 Literally "seven stades."

217 Literally "20 cubits."

218 Tyrant of various cities in Sicily *c.*491–478/7 BCE. Hieron (below) was his brother.

219 I.e. "The Horn of Plenty"; cf. 11.783c n.

220 Literally "Word, Speech," i.e. "a place for talking."

221 Tyrant of Syracuse 478/7–466 BCE.

b δώνιος δ' ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν | Ἱστοριῶν περὶ Δαμοφίλου λέγων τοῦ Σικελιώτου, δι' ὃν ὁ δουλικὸς ἐκινήθη πόλεμος, ὅτι τρυφῆς ἦν οἰκεῖος, γράφει καὶ ταῦτα· τρυφῆς οὖν δοῦλος ἦν καὶ κακουργίας, διὰ μὲν τῆς χώρας τετρακύκλους ἀπήνας περιαγόμενος καὶ ἱππέας[53] καὶ θεράποντας ὡραίους καὶ παραδρομὴν ἀνάγωγον κολάκων τε καὶ παίδων στρατιωτικῶν. ὕστερον δὲ πανοικίᾳ ἐφυβρίστως κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν περιυβρισθείς.

c Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεύς, ὥς φησι Δοῦρις | ἐν τῇ ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων ταλάντων κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν κύριος γενόμενος καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων βραχέα δαπανῶν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως διοίκησιν τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διὰ τὴν ἔμφυτον ἀκρασίαν ἠφάνιζεν, θοίνας καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν λαμπρὰς ἐπιτελῶν καὶ πλῆθός τι συνδείπνων ἔχων. καὶ ταῖς μὲν δαπάναις ταῖς εἰς τὰ δεῖπνα τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὑπερέβαλλε, τῇ δὲ καθαρειότητι Κυπρίους καὶ Φοίνικας· ῥάσματά τε μύρων ἔπιπτεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀνθινά
d τε πολλὰ τῶν ἐδαφῶν | ἐν τοῖς ἀνδρῶσιν κατεσκευάζετο διαπεποικιλμένα ὑπὸ δημιουργῶν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς γυναῖκας ὁμιλίαι σιωπώμεναι καὶ νεανίσκων ἔρωτες νυκτερινοί, καὶ ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις τιθέμενος θεσμοὺς Δημήτριος καὶ τοὺς βίους τάττων ἀνομοθέτητον ἑαυτῷ τὸν βίον κατεσκεύαζεν. ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως, τήν τε τρίχα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ξανθι-

[53] ἱππέας Olson: ἵππους ACE

F 2). Posidonius in Book VIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 7 = fr. 59 Edelstein–Kidd), in the course of his discussion of the profound addiction to luxury of Damophilus of Sicily, who was responsible for the outbreak of the Slave War,[222] writes the following: He was enslaved to luxury and crime, and used to drive four-wheeled carts through the countryside, accompanied by horsemen, good-looking servant-boys, and a crude escort of flatterers and young soldiers. But later he and his entire household died violently at the hands of their slaves in a very ugly fashion.

According to Duris in Book XVI of his *History* (*FGrH* 76 F 10 = Demetr. Phal. fr. 34 Wehrli = fr. 43A Fortenbaugh–Schütrumpf),[223] Demetrius of Phaleron had an income of 1200 talents per year; he spent only a small portion of this money on his troops and running the city, and wasted all the rest on his depraved personal life, by giving fantastic feasts every day and having large numbers of guests. He outdid the Macedonians in the amount of money he spent on dinner parties, and the Cyprians and the Phoenicians in his elegance: showers of perfume were spilled on the floor, and his craftsmen constructed large numbers of elaborate, brightly colored mosaic floors in his dining rooms. There were also discreet liaisons with women, and night-time affairs with young boys, and Demetrius—who established laws for other people and tried to govern their lives—made his own life as lawless as possible. He was also concerned about his appearance: he dyed the hair on his head blond, smeared his face with rouge,

[222] *c.*136 BCE.

[223] Ael. *VH* 9.9 is very similar, although the manuscripts there refer to Demetrius Poliorcetes.

ζόμενος καὶ παιδέρωτι τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπαλειφόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλείμμασιν ἐγχρίων ἑαυτόν· ἠβούλετο
e γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ἱλαρὸς καὶ τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν ἡδὺς | φαίνεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ πομπῇ τῶν Διονυσίων, ἣν ἔπεμψεν ἄρχων γενόμενος, ᾖδεν ὁ χορὸς εἰς αὐτὸν ποιήματα Σείρωνος τοῦ Σολέως, ἐν οἷς ἡλιόμορφος[224] προσηγορεύετο·

ἐξόχως δ' εὐγενέτας ἡλιόμορφος ζαθεοῖς
ἄρχων τιμαῖς σε γεραίρει.

Καρύστιος δὲ ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐν τρίτῳ Ὑπομνημάτων, Δημήτριος, φησίν, ὁ Φαληρεὺς Ἱμεραίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου αὐτὸς μετὰ Νικάνορος διέτριβεν, αἰτίαν ἔχων ὡς τὰ ἐπιφάνεια τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θύων. Κασάνδρῳ δὲ γενόμενος φίλος μέγα ἴσχυσεν.
f καὶ κατ' | ἀρχὰς μὲν ἦν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄριστον ὀξύβαφα παντοδαπὰς ἐλάας ἔχοντα καὶ τυρὸν νησιωτικόν. ὡς δ' ἐπλούτησε, Μοσχίωνα τὸν ἄριστον τῶν τότε μαγείρων καὶ δειπνοποιῶν ἐωνήσατο, καὶ τοσαῦτα ἦν τὰ παρασκευαζόμενα καθ' ἡμέραν ὥστε χαρισαμένου τῷ Μοσχίωνι τὰ λείψανα Μοσχίων ἐν ἔτεσι δύο τρεῖς συνοικίας ἐωνήσατο παῖδάς τε ἐλευθέρους ὕβριζεν καὶ

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224 Literally "sun-shaped."

225 According to Ael. *VH* 12.43, Demetrius was actually the child of a slave-woman.

226 In 321 BCE (before Demetrius was given control of Athens by Cassander, as what follows makes clear). Himeraeus is *PAA* 535130.

and covered his body with ointments of other types, because he wanted to appear cheerful and pleasant to the people he came in contact with. In the procession at the Dionysia, where he marched in front, the chorus sang hymns composed in his honor by Seiron of Soli, in which he was addressed as "sun-like"[224] (*PMG* 845):

> Our extraordinarily well-born,[225] sun-like leader
> honors you with sacred rites.

Carystius of Pergamum says in Book III of the *Commentaries* (fr. 10, *FHG* iv.358): After Antipater had his brother Himeraeus killed,[226] Demetrius of Phaleron himself began to spend time with Nicanor,[227] offering as his excuse that he was making expiatory sacrifices in response to an appearance by his brother's ghost. He acquired considerable power by being Cassander's friend.[228] In the beginning, his lunch consisted of a small cup that contained various types of olives and cheese from the islands. But after he got rich, he purchased Moschion,[229] who was the best cook and culinary artist of his time, and he had so much food prepared every day that, because he gave Moschion the leftovers, within two years Moschion had bought three apartment buildings and was raping free-born boys and

[227] Nicanor of Macedon (*PAA* 709553) was the commander of Cassander's garrison in Munychia. He is perhaps to be identified with Nicanor of Stagira (Berve i #557; *FGrH* 146?; *PAA* 709570), to whom Aristotle in his will left his daughter and control of his household (D.L. 5.11–16), meaning that he almost certainly knew Demetrius, who was one of Aristotle's students.

[228] I.e. through his connection with Nicanor (above).

[229] *PAA* 658137.

γυναῖκας τὰς τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων. ἐζηλοτύπουν δὲ πάντες οἱ παῖδες τὸν ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ Δίογνιν· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦν τῷ Δημητρίῳ προσελθεῖν ὥστε μετ' ἄριστον αὐτοῦ περιπατήσαντος παρὰ τοὺς Τρίποδας ||
543 συνῆλθον εἰς τὸν τόπον παῖδες <οἱ>[54] κάλλιστοι ταῖς ἑξῆς ἡμέραις, ἵν' ὀφθεῖεν αὐτῷ.

Νικόλαος δ' ὁ περιπατητικὸς ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Λεύκολλόν φησιν ἀφικόμενον εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ θριαμβεύσαντα λόγον τε ἀποδόντα τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου ἐξοκεῖλαι εἰς πολυτελῆ δίαιταν ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς σωφροσύνης τρυφῆς τε πρῶτον εἰς ἅπαν Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι, καρπωσάμενον δυεῖν βασιλέων πλοῦτον.[55] διαβόητος δ' ἦν
b παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ | Σίττιος ἐπὶ τρυφῇ καὶ μαλακίᾳ, ὥς φησι Ῥουτίλιος· περὶ γὰρ Ἀπικίου προειρήκαμεν. Παυσανίαν δὲ καὶ Λύσανδρον ἐπὶ τρυφῇ διαβοήτους γενέσθαι σχεδὸν πάντες ἱστοροῦσι. διόπερ καὶ Ἄγις ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου ἔφη ὅτι, "δεύτερον τοῦτον ἡ Σπάρτη φέρει Παυσανίαν." Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τἀναντία φησὶ περὶ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι

[54] παῖδες κάλλιστοι A: οἱ παῖδες tantum CE: corr. Kaibel
[55] πλοῦτον Μιθριδάτου καὶ Τιγράνου ACE: Μιθριδάτου καὶ Τιγράνου del. Olson

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230 *PAA* 328125. 231 The Street of the Tripods (so called from the choregic victory monuments that lined it) ran from the Prytaneion in the Agora around the Acropolis, and ended at the shrine of Dionysus Eleuthereus near the Theater.

women from the most distinguished families. All the boys were jealous of Demetrius' boyfriend Diognis,[230] and meeting Demetrius was so important to them that if he took a walk around the Tripods[231] after lunch, the best-looking boys congregated there on subsequent days, in the hope that he would see them.

Nicolaus the Peripatetic in Book CX of his *History* (*FGrH* 90 F 77a)[232] reports that when Lucullus came to Rome and celebrated his triumph, he offered an account of his conduct during the war against Mithridates, and then wrecked himself on the reef of an extravagant lifestyle, abandoning his earlier self-discipline and becoming the first person to introduce the Romans to every sort of luxury, by exploiting the wealth of the two kings.[233] According to Rutilius (fr. 6, *FHG* iii.200), Sittius was also notorious in Rome for his addiction to luxury and effeminacy; because we discussed Apicius earlier (1.7a–c).[234] Almost all authorities report that Pausanias and Lysander[235] were notorious for their addiction to luxury. This is why Agis[236] said about Lysander, "Here's a second Pausanias that Sparta's producing." But Theopompus in Book X of his *History of Greece* (*FGrH* 115 F 20) says the opposite about

[232] The same passage is cited at 6.274e–f, where see n.

[233] I.e. Mithridates and Tigranus, whose names were added above the line as an explanatory gloss that eventually made its way into the text.

[234] Sc. "meaning that there is no need to take his case up again now."

[235] Pausanias is Poralla #595; cf. 12.535e n. Lysander is Poralla #504; cf. 6.233f n.

[236] Agis II (Poralla #26), reigned *c.*427–400 BCE.

φιλόπονος ἦν καὶ θεραπεύειν δυνάμενος καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ βασιλεῖς, σώφρων ὢν καὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἁπασῶν κρείττων. γενόμενος γοῦν τῆς Ἑλλάδος σχεδὸν ἁπά-
c σης κύριος | ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ φανήσεται τῶν πόλεων οὔτε πρὸς τὰς ἀφροδισίους ἡδονὰς ὁρμήσας οὔτε μέθαις καὶ πότοις ἀκαίροις χρησάμενος.

Οὕτω δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τὰ τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ τῆς πολυτελείας ἠσκεῖτο ὡς καὶ Παρράσιον τὸν ζωγράφον πορφύραν ἀμπέχεσθαι, χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κλέαρχος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις. οὗτος γὰρ παρὰ μέλος ὑπὲρ τὴν γραφικὴν τρυφήσας λόγῳ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντελαμβάνετο καὶ ἐπ-
d ἐγραφεν τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελουμένοις ἔργοις· |

ἀβροδίαιτος ἀνὴρ ἀρετήν τε σέβων τάδ᾽
ἔγραψεν.

καί τις ὑπεραλγήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρέγραψεν "ῥαβδοδίαιτος ἀνήρ." ἐπέγραψεν δ᾽ ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ τάδε·

ἀβροδίαιτος ἀνὴρ ἀρετήν τε σέβων τάδ᾽ ἔγραψεν
Παρράσιος κλεινῆς πατρίδος ἐξ Ἐφέσου.
οὐδὲ πατρὸς λαθόμην Εὐήνορος, ὅς <μ᾽> ἀνέφυσε
γνήσιον, Ἑλλήνων πρῶτα φέροντα τέχνης.

Lysander, claiming that he liked hard work and was able to serve both private citizens and kings, since he could control himself and was not a hedonist of any sort. Although he got power over almost all of Greece, at any rate, it is impossible to point to a single city where he became involved in sexual escapades or got drunk or attended parties when he should not have.

The ancients were so devoted to a luxurious, expensive lifestyle that the painter Parrhasius wore purple clothes and put a gold garland on his head, according to Clearchus in his *Lives* (fr. 42 Wehrli).[237] Even though he led a life that was inappropriately luxurious for a painter, he laid verbal claim to being a decent person and used to inscribe on the works he completed (*FGE* 279):

> This was painted by a man who led a dainty life (*anêr habrodiaitos*), but respected virtue.

Someone who was annoyed by this wrote *anêr rhabdodiaitos* ("a man who lived off his paintbrush") on the side. The following is inscribed on many of his paintings (*FGE* 279–82):

> This was painted by a man who led a dainty life, but respected virtue:
> Parrhasius, whose famous fatherland is Ephesus.
> Nor do I omit my father Euenor, whose legitimate son
> I am; he was the best of the Greeks at his trade.

[237] Quoted also at 15.687b–c, where the passage is said to come specifically from Book III. Ael. *VH* 9.11 (citing Theophrastus fr. 552A Fortenbaugh) offers a much-condensed version of what follows; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 35.71–3. For Parrhasius, cf. 11.782b n.

ηὔχησε δ' ἀνεμεσήτως ἐν τούτοις·

e εἰ καὶ ἄπιστα | κλύουσι, λέγω τάδε· φημὶ γὰρ
ἤδη
τέχνης εὑρῆσθαι τέρματα τῆσδε σαφῆ
χειρὸς ὑφ' ἡμετέρης· ἀνυπέρβλητος δὲ πέπηγεν
οὖρος· ἀμώμητον δ' οὐδὲν ἔγεντο βροτοῖς.

ἀγωνιζόμενος δέ ποτε πρὸς καταδεέστερον ἐν Σάμῳ τὸν Αἴαντα καὶ ἡττηθείς, συναχθομένων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων, ἔφη ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ὀλίγον φροντίζοι, Αἴαντι δὲ
f συνάχθοιτο δεύτερον ἡττηθέντι. | ἐφόρει δὲ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς πορφυρίδα καὶ στρόφιον λευκὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἶχεν σκίπωνί τε ἐστηρίζετο χρυσᾶς ἕλικας ἐμπεπαισμένῳ χρυσοῖς τε ἀνασπαστοῖς ἐπέσφιγγε τῶν βλαυτῶν τοὺς ἀναγωγέας. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην ἀηδῶς ἐποιεῖτο ἀλλὰ ῥᾳδίως, ὡς καὶ ᾄδειν γράφοντα, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Εὐδαιμονίας. τερατευόμενος δὲ ἔλεγεν, ὅτε τὸν ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἡρακλέα ἔγραφεν, ὡς ὄναρ αὐτῷ ἐπιφαινόμενος ὁ θεὸς σχηματίζοι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν τῆς γραφῆς ἐπιτηδειότητα. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπέγραψεν τῷ πίνακι· ||

544 οἷος δ' ἐννύχιον φαντάζετο πολλάκι φοιτῶν
Παρρασίῳ δι' ὕπνου, τοῖος ὅδ' ἐστὶν ὁρᾶν.

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238 Sc. by an inferior, referring to the Achaeans' decision to award Odysseus rather than Ajax the dead Achilleus' armor, an injustice that drove Ajax to suicide.

He boasted in a way designed to avert divine resentment in the following passage (*FGE* 283–6):

> Even if those who hear this disbelieve me, I say the following: I claim that
> the certain boundaries of this craft have been discovered
> by my hand. The limit has been fixed and no one can go
> beyond it; but nothing mortals do is perfect.

At one point he was competing on Samos with a painting of Ajax against someone who was not as good an artist as he was, but lost. When his friends expressed their condolences, he said that he was not particularly concerned about himself, but did feel sorry for Ajax, who had been defeated a second time.[238] He was so addicted to luxury that he used to wear a purple robe and a white band around his head; supported his weight on a staff embossed with silver curlicues; and tightened the straps of his slippers with gold latchets. He found engaging in his art not just painless, but easy, to the extent that he actually sang as he painted, according to Theophrastus in his *On Happiness* (fr. 552B Fortenbaugh). When people expressed surprise at this, he used to say that when he was painting Heracles on Lindos, the god appeared to him, as if in a dream, and positioned himself exactly as the picture required. He accordingly inscribed on the panel (*FGE* 287–8):

> Just as he looked when he came repeatedly by night
> to Parrhasius in his sleep, this is how he appears here.

Καὶ φιλοσόφων δὲ αἱρέσεις ὅλαι τῆς περὶ τὴν τρυφὴν αἱρέσεως ἀντεποιήσαντο· καὶ ἥ γε Κυρηναϊκὴ καλουμένη ἀπ᾽ Ἀριστίππου τοῦ Σωκρατικοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα, ὃς ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν ἡδυπάθειαν ταύτην τέλος εἶναι ἔφη καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν βεβλῆσθαι· καὶ μονόχρονον αὐτὴν εἶναι, παραπλη-
b σίως τοῖς ἀσώτοις οὔτε τὴν μνήμην τῶν | γεγονυιῶν ἀπολαύσεων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγούμενος οὔτε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν ἐσομένων, ἀλλ᾽ ἑνὶ μόνῳ τὸ ἀγαθὸν κρίνων τῷ παρόντι, τὸ δὲ ἀπολελαυκέναι καὶ ἀπολαύσειν οὐδὲν νομίζων πρὸς αὑτόν, τὸ μὲν ὡς οὐκέτ᾽ ὄν, τὸ δὲ οὔπω καὶ ἄδηλον· ὁποῖον καὶ οἱ τρυφῶντες πάσχουσι τὸ παρὸν εὖ ποιεῖν ἀξιοῦντες. ὡμολόγησεν δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῷ δόγματι καὶ ὁ βίος, ὃν ἐβίωσεν ἐν πάσῃ τρυφῇ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ μύρων καὶ ἐσθήτων καὶ γυναικῶν. Λαΐδα γοῦν ἀναφανδὸν εἶχε τὴν ἑταίραν καὶ ταῖς Διονυσίου
c πολυτελείαις | ἔχαιρεν καίτοι πολλάκις ἐνυβριζόμενος. Ἡγήσανδρος γοῦν φησιν ὡς καὶ ἀδόξου ποτὲ κλισίας παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τυχὼν ἤνεγκεν ἐρωτήσαντός τε τοῦ Διονυσίου τί φαίνεται ἡ κατάκλισις, πρὸς τὴν χθὲς ἔφησεν παραπλησίαν εἶναι. "ἐκείνη τε γάρ", ἔφησεν, "ἀδοξεῖ τήμερον χωρισθεῖσα ἐμοῦ, χθὲς δὲ πασῶν ἦν ἐνδοξοτάτη δι᾽ ἡμᾶς, αὕτη τε τήμερον καὶ ἔνδοξος

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239 Cf. Ael. *VH* 14.6.

240 For Aristippus and Laïs, cf. 13.588e–f, 599b.

241 Dionysius II, tyrant of Syracuse (reigned 367–357 BCE).

Entire philosophical sects laid claim to the idea of organizing one's life around luxury, for example the so-called Cyrenaic sect, which originated with Socrates' student Aristippus (frr. 157, 207 Mannebach = *SSR* IV A 174), who expressed his approval of a life of luxury, and said that this is what one should aim for, as well as what happiness is based on. He also argued that pleasure exists only in the individual moment; and like profligates generally, he believed that neither the memory of past pleasures nor the expectation of those to come was of any significance to him. Instead, he was of the opinion that the Good exists exclusively in the moment, and felt that having enjoyed himself before or being likely to do so again meant nothing to him, since the former was over, while the latter had not yet occurred and was uncertain;[239] this is what hedonists feel, when they maintain that it is the moment that gives one pleasure. The way he lived matched his teachings (fr. 78 Mannebach = *SSR* IV A 53), since he immersed himself in luxury of every sort and spent lavishly on perfume, clothing, and women. He made no secret, for example, of supporting the courtesan Laïs,[240] and he enjoyed Dionysius'[241] extravagant parties, even though he was often treated badly at them. Hegesander (fr. 18, *FHG* iv.417 = *SSR* IV A 36, incorporating both quotations) reports, for example, that on one occasion (fr. 42B Mannebach) he made no protest when he was assigned an undistinguished couch at Dionysius' house, and when Dionysius asked him how he felt about where he was seated, he said that it was about the same as the previous day. "Because that couch over there," he said, "is undistinguished today, as a result of my absence, whereas yesterday it was the most distinguished of them all, because of me; and this one here has

γέγονεν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν παρουσίαν, χθὲς δὲ ἠδόξει μὴ παρόντος ἐμοῦ." καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δέ φησιν ὁ Ἡγή-
d σανδρος· Ἀρίστιππος ῥαινόμενος μὲν ὑπὸ | τῶν τοῦ Διονυσίου θεραπόντων, σκωπτόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνέχεσθαι ὑπ' Ἀντιφῶντος, "εἰ δ' ἁλιευόμενος ἐτύγχανον," ἔφη, "καταλιπὼν τὴν ἐργασίαν ἂν ἀπῆλθον;" διέτριβεν δ' ὁ Ἀρίστιππος τὰ πολλὰ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τρυφῶν· διὸ καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀπομνημονεύμασί φησιν ὅτι πολλάκις ἐνουθέτει αὐτὸν ὁ Σωκράτης καὶ τὴν ἠθοποιίαν πλάσας τῆς Ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς Ἡδονῆς εἰσῆγεν. ὁ δ' Ἀρίστιππος ἐπὶ τῆς Λαΐδος ἔλεγεν "ἔχω καὶ οὐκ ἔχομαι." καὶ παρὰ Διονυσίῳ διηνέχθη τισὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν τριῶν γυναικῶν. καὶ μύροις ἐλούετο καὶ ἔφασκεν ὅτι· |

e κἀν[56] βακχεύμασιν
οὖσ' ἥ γε σώφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται.

κωμῳδῶν δὲ αὐτὸν Ἄλεξις ἐν Γαλατείᾳ ποιεῖ τινα θεράποντα διηγούμενον περί τινος τῶν μαθητῶν τάδε·

ὁ δεσπότης οὑμὸς περὶ λόγους γάρ ποτε

[56] The traditional text of Euripides has καὶ γὰρ ἐν.

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[242] Cf. D.L. 2.73. [243] Cf. D.L. 2.67 (where Aristippus is not splashed with water by a servant but spat upon by Dionysius himself, and then refers to fishing since being spat on is the price of catching a particularly nice bit of seafood for dinner).

[244] Xenophon says that the story was in fact invented by Prodicus. Cf. 12.510c; D.L. 2.76.

become distinguished today, as a result of my presence, whereas yesterday it wasn't, since I was someplace else."[242] And elsewhere Hegesander (fr. 18 continued, *FHG* iv.417) says: When Dionysius' servants splashed water on Aristippus (fr. 40B Mannebach), and Antiphon made fun of him for putting up with this, he said: "If I were fishing, would I have quit and gone home?"[243] Aristippus (fr. 108 Mannebach = *SSR* IV A 20) used to spend most of his time on Aegina, living in luxury; this is why Xenophon in his *Memorabilia* (2.1.21–34) says that Socrates frequently criticized him and cited the moralizing story about Virtue and Pleasure he had made up.[244] Aristippus (fr. 57D Mannebach = *SSR* IV A 96, including the anecdote that follows) used to say about Laïs, "She's mine; I'm not hers."[245] When he was visiting Dionysius, he (fr. 58B Mannebach) disagreed with some people about picking one of the three women.[246] He (fr. 39C Mannebach = *SSR* IV A 31) used to bathe in perfume and say (E. *Ba.* 317–18):

> Even during Bacchic rites
> a decent woman will not be corrupted.

Alexis makes fun of him in *Galateia* (fr. 37 = Aristipp. fr. 5 Mannebach = *SSR* IV A 9), by representing a servant as offering the following description of one of his pupils:

> Because at one point, when my master was a young man,

[245] Cf. D.L. 2.74–5. [246] A more complete version of the story is preserved at D.L. 2.67: Dionysius offered Aristippus one of three courtesans, but he took all three and noted that Paris' choice of only one woman in a similar situation turned out badly for him.

διέτριψε μειρακίσκος ὢν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν
ἐπέθετο. Κυρηναῖος ἦν ἐνταῦθά τις,
ὥς φασ', Ἀρίστιππος, σοφιστὴς εὐφυής, |
f μᾶλλον δὲ πρωτεύων ἁπάντων <τῶν> τότε,
ἀκολαστίᾳ τε τῶν γεγονότων διαφέρων.
τούτῳ τάλαντον δοὺς μαθητὴς γίγνεται
ὁ δεσπότης, καὶ τὴν τέχνην μὲν οὐ πάνυ
ἐξέμαθε, τὴν δ' ἀρτηρίαν συνήρπασεν.

Ἀντιφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀνταίῳ περὶ τῆς τῶν φιλοσόφων τρυφερότητος διαλεγόμενός φησιν·

(Α.) ὦ τᾶν, κατανοεῖς τίς ποτ' ἐστὶν οὑτοσὶ
ὁ γέρων; (Β.) ἀπὸ τῆς μὲν ὄψεως Ἑλληνικός· ||
545 λευκὴ χλανίς, φαιὸς χιτωνίσκος καλός,
πιλίδιον ἁπαλόν, εὔρυθμος βακτηρία,
† βεβαία τράπεζα. † τί μακρὰ δεῖ λέγειν; ὅλως
αὐτὴν ὁρᾶν γὰρ τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν δοκῶ.

Ἀριστόξενος δ' ὁ μουσικὸς ἐν τῷ Ἀρχύτα Βίῳ ἀφι<κέσθαι φ>ησὶ[57] παρὰ Διονυσίου τοῦ νεωτέρου πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν, ἐν οἷς εἶναι καὶ Πολύαρχον τὸν Ἡδυπαθῆ ἐπικαλούμενον, ἄνδρα περὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἡδονὰς ἐσπουδακότα καὶ οὐ μόνον τῷ ἔργῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ. ὄντα δὲ γνώριμον τῷ |
b Ἀρχύτᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐ παντελῶς ἀλλότριον

[57] ἀφι<κέσθαι φ>ησὶ Casaubon: ἀφίησι A

he spent all his time talking with people and made an
effort
to be a philosopher. There was a guy from Cyrene
there,
people say, named Aristippus, a brilliant sophist—
better put, he was the leading man of his day,
and more depraved than anyone who'd ever lived.
My master gave him a talent and became
his student, and although he didn't entirely master
the business, he did get control of his windpipe.[247]

Antiphanes in *Antaeus* (fr. 35) discusses the luxurious lifestyle of the philosophers and says:

(A.) Sir—who do you think this old man
is? (B.) He's Greek, by the looks of him:
a white mantle, a nice little gray cloak;
a small, soft felt cap; an elegant staff;
† a secure table †. Why should I go on at length? I
think
I'm seeing the Academy itself, pure and simple.

The musician Aristoxenus in his *Life of Archytas* (fr. 50 Wehrli = Archyt. A9 Huffmann) claims that ambassadors came to Tarentum from Dionysius the Younger; one of them was Polyarchus (nicknamed "High-Life"), who was devoted to physical pleasure not just in deeds, but in words as well. He was a student of Archytas and not entirely unacquainted with philosophy, and he used to meet Archytas

[247] What this means is unclear, although one would expect the reference to be somehow to Aristippus' alleged hedonistic gluttony.

ἁπαντᾶν εἰς τὰ τεμένη καὶ συμπεριπατεῖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχύταν ἀκροώμενον τῶν λόγων. ἐμπεσούσης δέ ποτε ἀπορίας καὶ σκέψεως περί τε τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ τὸ σύνολον περὶ τῶν σωματικῶν ἡδονῶν ἔφη ὁ Πολύαρχος· "ἐμοὶ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, πολλάκις ἤδη πέφηνεν ἐπισκοποῦντι κομιδῇ τὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν τούτων κατασκεύασμα καὶ πολὺ τῆς φύσεως ἀφεστηκὸς εἶναι. ἡ γὰρ φύσις ὅταν φθέγγηται τὴν ἑαυτῆς φωνήν, ἀκο-
c λουθεῖν κελεύει ταῖς ἡδοναῖς | καὶ τοῦτό φησιν εἶναι νοῦν ἔχοντος· τὸ δὲ ἀντιτείνειν καὶ καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας οὔτ' ἔμφρονος οὔτε εὐτυχοῦς οὔτε ξυνιέντος εἶναι τίς ποτε ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως σύστασις. τεκμήριον δ' ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι τὸ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὅταν ἐξουσίας ἐπιλάβωνται μέγεθος ἀξιόχρεων ἐχούσης, ἐπὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἡδονὰς καταφέρεσθαι καὶ τοῦτο νομίζειν τέλος εἶναι τῆς ἐξουσίας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα σχεδὸν ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἐν παρέργου τίθεσθαι χώρᾳ. προφέρειν δ' ἔξεστι νῦν μὲν τοὺς
d Περσῶν | βασιλεῖς, νῦν δὲ καὶ εἴ τίς που τυραννίδος ἀξιολόγου κύριος ὢν τυγχάνει· πρότερον δὲ τούς τε Λυδῶν καὶ τοὺς Μήδων καὶ ἔτι ἀνώτερον καὶ τοὺς Σύρων· οἷς οὐδὲν γένος ἡδονῆς ἀζήτητον γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῶρα παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις προκεῖσθαι λέγεται τοῖς δυναμένοις ἐξευρίσκειν καινὴν ἡδονήν. καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς· ταχὺ γὰρ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις ἐμπίπλαται τῶν χρονιζουσῶν ἡδονῶν, κἂν ὦσιν σφόδρα διηκριβωμέναι· ὥστε ἐπεὶ μεγάλην ἔχει δύναμιν ἡ
e καινότης πρὸς τὸ μείζω φανῆναι τὴν ἡδονήν, | οὐκ

and his followers in the sanctuaries and walk around with them, listening in on their conversation. At one point there was some confusion and debate about desires, and about physical pleasure generally, and Polyarchus said: "It's often seemed to me, gentlemen, when I considered the matter, that the contortions these virtues require have very little to do with nature. Because when nature speaks in her own voice, she encourages us to pursue pleasures and claims that this is a mark of a sensible person. Whereas attempting to resist or subdue one's desires is the mark of someone who is neither sensible nor lucky, and who fails to understand how human beings are constituted. Compelling evidence of this is the fact that all human beings, if they get as much power as they need for this, are carried off in the direction of physical pleasure and believe that this is the point of such power, and treat almost everything else, to put it simply, as a secondary matter. One might cite as a contemporary example the Persian kings, or anyone else anywhere who has somehow got a substantial amount of unchecked political authority; in the past, there were the Lydian and Median kings, and even before them, the kings of Syria.[248] They left no type of pleasure unexplored; in fact, people say that in Persia rewards are offered for anyone who can invent a new pleasure. And rightly so; because human nature quickly becomes sated with the pleasures it experiences repeatedly, even if they are extremely intense. As a consequence, since novelty has a tremendous ability to increase the apparent magnitude of pleasure, we should

[248] Properly "of Assyria"; cf. 12.530a with n., 546a.

ὀλιγωρητέον οὖν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῆς ποιητέον. διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν πολλὰ μὲν ἐξευρεθῆναι βρωμάτων εἴδη, πολλὰ δὲ πεμμάτων, πολλὰ δὲ θυμιαμάτων καὶ μύρων, πολλὰ δὲ ἱματίων καὶ στρωμάτων, καὶ ποτηρίων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν· πάντα γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα συμβάλλεσθαί τινας ἡδονάς, ὅταν ᾖ ἡ ὑποκειμένη ὕλη τῶν θαυμαζομένων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως· ὃ δὴ πεπονθέναι δοκεῖ ὅ τε χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν εὐοφθάλμων τε καὶ σπα-
f νίων, ὅσα | καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀπεργαζομένας τέχνας διηκριβωμένα φαίνεται." εἰπὼν δὲ τούτοις ἑξῆς τὰ περὶ τῆς θεραπείας τῆς τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, οἵους καὶ ὅσους ἔχει θεραπευτῆρας, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀφροδισίων αὐτοῦ χρήσεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν χρῶτα αὐτοῦ ὀδμῆς καὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας καὶ τῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ περὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ τῶν ἀκροαμάτων, εὐδαιμονέστατον ἔφη κρῖναι τῶν νῦν τὸν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα· "πλεῖσται γάρ εἰσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τελειόταται παρεσκευασμέναι ἡδοναί. δεύτερον δέ", φησί, "τὸν ἡμέτερον τύραννον θείη τις ἂν καίπερ πολὺ λειπόμενον· ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ ἥ τε Ἀσία ὅλη χορηγεῖ < . . . >, τὸ δὲ Διονυσίου ||
546 χορηγεῖον παντελῶς ἂν εὐτελές τι φανείη πρὸς ἐκεῖνο συγκρινόμενον. ὅτι μὲν οὖν περιμάχητός ἐστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν συμβεβηκότων. Σύρους μὲν γὰρ Μῆδοι μετὰ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ἀφείλοντο τὴν βασιλείαν οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἕνεκα ἢ τοῦ κυριεῦσαι τῆς Σύρων ἐξουσίας, Μήδους δὲ Πέρσαι διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν σωματικῶν

not despise it, but pay it considerable attention. This is why many types of food have been invented, and many types of pastry, and of incense and perfume, and robes and blankets, and cups and other vessels; because all these produce pleasure of some sort, provided that the basic material consists of something human nature finds appealing. This, in my opinion, is what has happened in the case of gold and silver, and of most other rare and beautiful substances that appear to have been brought to perfection as far as the crafts associated with them are concerned." Immediately after this he described the services the Persian king is provided with: all the servants of various sorts that belong to him, and his sex-life, and how nice his skin smells, and how handsome he looks, and the company he keeps, and what he watches and listens to;[249] and he said that, in his opinion, the Persian king was the most fortunate man alive at the time. "Because he enjoys the largest number of pleasures, and the most perfectly crafted ones. But in second place," he said, "—although a substantial distance behind the king—one might rank our tyrant. Because all of Asia caters to the king's needs . . . , whereas what Dionysius receives would have to be regarded as an absolute trifle in comparison to that. But that this life is worth fighting for is apparent from the course of historical events. Because the Medes took enormous risks in order to wrest the kingship away from the Syrians, for no other reason than that they wanted to control Syria,[250] and the Persians (did the same) to the Medes for the same reason. This is the attraction of

[249] I.e. his dancers and musicians.
[250] Cf. 12.545d with n.

ἡδονῶν ἀπόλαυσις. οἱ δὲ νομοθέται ὁμαλίζειν βουληθέντες τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος καὶ μηδένα τῶν πολι-
b τῶν τρυφᾶν ἀνακῦψαι | πεποιήκασι τὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν εἶδος· καὶ ἔγραψαν νόμους περὶ συναλλαγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὅσα ἐδόκει πρὸς τὴν πολιτικὴν κοινωνίαν ἀναγκαῖα εἶναι καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ ἐσθῆτος καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς διαίτης, ὅπως ᾖ ὁμαλής. πολεμούντων οὖν τῶν νομοθετῶν τῷ τῆς πλεονεξίας γένει πρῶτον μὲν ὁ περὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔπαινος ηὐξήθη, καί πού τις καὶ ποιητὴς ἐφθέγξατο·

δικαιοσύνας τὸ χρύσεον πρόσωπον.

καὶ πάλιν· † τὸ χρύσεον ὄμμα τὸ τᾶς δίκας †. ἀπεθεώθη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς δίκης ὄνομα· ὥστε παρ᾽ ἐνίοις |
c καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ θυσίας γίνεσθαι Δίκῃ. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ καὶ Σωφροσύνην καὶ Ἐγκράτειαν ἐπεισεκώμασαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἐκάλεσαν τὴν ἐν ἀπολαύσεσιν ὑπεροχήν· ὥστε τὸν πειθαρχοῦντα τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ τῶν πολλῶν φήμῃ μετριάζειν περὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἡδονάς."

Καὶ Δοῦρις δέ φησιν ἐν τῇ εἰκοστῇ καὶ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ὡς ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν τοῖς δυνάσταις ἐπιθυμία τῆς μέθης, διὸ ποιεῖν τὸν Ὅμηρον τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι λοιδορούμενον τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ λέγοντα·

οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ᾽ ἔχων. |

physical pleasure. Since our lawgivers wanted to make everyone equal and keep any of their citizens from becoming addicted to luxury, they have caused the category of virtues to emerge; and they drafted laws having to do with our dealings with one another and with all other matters that appeared to be required for a political society, and in particular with clothing and the other aspects of daily life, to make it uniform. As the lawgivers waged their war against those who wanted more than their share, first justice was praised increasingly, and some poet, I suppose, said (E. fr. 486(a)):[251]

the golden face of justice.

And again (S. fr. 12.1–2, unmetrical): † the golden eye of justice †. The very name of justice was transformed into a deity; as a consequence, there are altars and sacrifices to Justice in some places. After Justice, they added Decency and Self-Control to the group, and referred to the ability to enjoy oneself more than others as greed. As a consequence, those who pay attention to the laws and to what average people say adopt a moderate approach to physical pleasure."

So too Duris in Book XXIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 76 F 15) claims that in ancient times the individuals in power wanted to get drunk, which is why Homer represents Achilleus as insulting Agamemnon by saying (*Il.* 1.225):[252]

Heavy with wine, with a dog's eyes!

[251] Identified by a scholiast to Aristotle as drawn from *Melanippe the Wise*.

[252] Quoted, in more complete form, also at 5.178d.

d καὶ τὸν θάνατον δ᾽ ἀποσημαίνων τοῦ βασιλέως φησίν·

ὡς ἀμφὶ κρητῆρα τραπέζας τε πληθούσας
κείμεθα,

δεικνύων καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ παρ᾽ αὐταῖς ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς μέθης γενόμενον.

Φιλήδονος ἦν καὶ Σπεύσιππος ὁ Πλάτωνος συγγενὴς καὶ διάδοχος τῆς σχολῆς. Διονύσιος γοῦν ὁ τῆς Σικελίας τύραννος ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολῇ κατὰ τῆς φιληδονίας αὐτοῦ εἰπὼν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν αὐτῷ ὀνειδίζει καὶ τὸν Λασθενείας τῆς Ἀρκαδικῆς ἔρωτα, ἥτις καὶ Πλάτωνος ἠκηκόει.

e Οὐ μόνος δ᾽ Ἀρίστιππος | καὶ οἱ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν κατὰ κίνησιν ἡδονὴν ἠσπάζοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτου. καὶ ἵνα μὴ τοὺς καταιγισμοὺς λέγω καὶ τὰ ἐπ<ικ>εντρώματα,[58] ἅπερ πολλάκις προφέρεται ὁ Ἐπίκουρος, καὶ τοὺς γαργαλισμοὺς καὶ τὰ νύγματα, ἃ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Τέλους εἴρηκεν, τούτων μνηθήσομαι. φησὶν γάρ· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε δύναμαι νοῆσαι τἀγαθὸν ἀφαιρῶν μὲν τὰς διὰ χυλῶν ἡδονάς, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς δι᾽ ἀφροδισίων, ἀφαιρῶν δὲ τὰς δι᾽ ἀκροαμάτων,
f ἀφαιρῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς διὰ μορφῆς | κατ᾽ ὄψιν ἡδείας κινήσεις. καὶ Μητρόδωρος ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς φησιν·

[58] ἐπ<ικ>εντρώματα Meineke

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253 Speusippus (*c.*409–339 BCE; *PAA* 830380) was Plato's

And when he describes the king's death, he says (*Od.* 11.419–20):

> how we were lying around the mixing-bowl and the tables
> full of food,

as a way of indicating that his death was connected specifically with his desire to get drunk.

Speusippus (test. 39b Tarán), who was Plato's relative[253] as well as his successor as head of the school, was also a hedonist. Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, at any rate, in his letter to him, denounces his hedonism, criticizing him for being too interested in money, as well as for being in love with Lasthenia of Arcadia,[254] who was one of Plato's students.

It was not just Aristippus (fr. 195 Mannebach = *SSR* IV A 203) and his followers who welcomed the pleasure associated with motion,[255] but also Epicurus and his followers. To keep from discussing the "gusts" and "pangs" to which Epicurus refers again and again, as well as the "tinglings" and "pricklings" he mentions in his *On the End* (fr. 413, p. 280 Usener), I will quote the following. Because (Epicurus) says (fr. 67, p. 120 Usener):[256] For I, at any rate, am unable to conceive of "the Good" if I remove from consideration the pleasure derived from the flavors of food, or from sex, or from music, or if I exclude bodily motions that are pleasant to watch. And Metrodorus says in his *Letters*

nephew by his sister Potone. Very similar material is preserved at 7.279e, where see n. [254] *PAA* 601987. [255] A Cyrenaic term for pleasure; cf. D.L. 2.86–7. [256] Quoted also, in a slightly abbreviated form, at 7.278f, 280a–b.

περὶ γαστέρα, ὦ φυσιολόγε Τιμόκρατες, περὶ γαστέρα ὁ κατὰ φύσιν βαδίζων λόγος τὴν ἅπασαν ἔχει σπουδήν. καὶ ὁ Ἐπίκουρος δέ φησιν· ἀρχὴ καὶ ῥίζα παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἡ τῆς γαστρὸς ἡδονή· καὶ τὰ σοφὰ <καὶ>[59] τὰ περισσὰ ἐπὶ ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἀναφοράν. κἀν τῷ Περὶ Τέλους δὲ πάλιν φησίν· τιμητέον τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰ τοιουτότροπα, ἐὰν ἡδονὴν παρασκευάζῃ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παρασκευάζῃ, χαίρειν ἐατέον, σαφῶς ὑπουργὸν ἐν τούτοις ποιῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν
547 τῆς ἡδονῆς || καὶ θεραπαίνης τάξιν ἐπέχουσαν. κἀν ἄλλοις δέ φησιν· προσπτύω τῷ καλῷ καὶ τοῖς κενῶς αὐτὸ θαυμάζουσιν, ὅταν μηδεμίαν ἡδονὴν ποιῇ. καλῶς ἄρα ποιοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πάντα ἄριστοι Ἄλκιον καὶ Φιλίσκον τοὺς Ἐπικουρείους ἐξέβαλον τῆς πόλεως, Λευκίου τοῦ Ποστουμίου ὑπατεύοντος, δι' ἃς εἰσηγοῦντο ἡδονάς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι κατὰ
b ψήφισμα ἐξέωσαν τοὺς Ἐπικουρείους, Ἀντίοχος | δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντας τοὺς φιλοσόφους τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, γράψας τάδε· βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Φανίᾳ. ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ πρότερον ὅπως μηδεὶς ᾖ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῇ πόλει μηδ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. πυνθανόμεθα δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς νέους λυμαίνεσθαι διὰ τὸ μηθὲν πεποιηκέναι ὑμᾶς ὧν ἐγράψαμεν περὶ τούτων. ὡς ἂν οὖν λάβῃς τὴν ἐπιστολήν, σύνταξον κήρυγμα

[59] cf. 7.280a

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[257] Quoted also at 7.279f–80a, where see n.

(fr. 39 Körte):[257] Reasoning that proceeds in accord with nature is entirely devoted to the belly, my philosophical friend Timocrates, to the belly! Epicurus (fr. 409, p. 278 Usener = 21M Long–Sedley, encompassing both quotations) as well says: The origin and root of everything good is the pleasure derived from our belly, and whatever is wise or exceptional is to be measured by that standard. So too in his *On the End* (fr. 70, p. 123 Usener)[258] he says again: We ought to respect beauty, the virtues, and the like if they give us pleasure. But if they do not, we should ignore them. He thus patently represents virtue as subordinate to pleasure and as occupying the position of a servant-girl. And elsewhere as well he says (fr. 512, p. 315 Usener): I spit on the Good and the people who admire it to no purpose, if it produces no pleasure. The Romans—the best people there are in all regards—were therefore right to expel the Epicureans Alcius and Philiscus from the city during the consulship of Lucius Postumius[259] on account of the pleasures they were attempting to introduce. The Messenians similarly passed a decree expelling the Epicureans, while King Antiochus expelled all philosophers from the territory he controlled, writing the following: King Antiochus to Phanias. I wrote you previously, ordering that no philosophers were to be allowed in the city or the territory around it. But I hear that there are quite a few of them, and that the young men are suffering because of your failure to carry out any of my instructions regarding these people. The moment you receive this letter, therefore, order a

[258] Quoted also at 7.280b.

[259] I.e. in either 173 or 154 BCE. Cf. Ael. *VH* 9.12 (where the philosophers in question are called Alcaeus and Philiscus).

ποιήσασθαι ὅπως οἱ μὲν φιλόσοφοι πάντες ἀπαλλάξονται ἐκ τῶν τόπων ἤδη, τῶν δὲ νεανίσκων ὅσοι ἂν ἁλίσκωνται πρὸς τούτοις γινόμενοι, διότι κρεμήσονται, καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐν αἰτίαις ἔσονται ταῖς
c μεγίσταις· | καὶ μὴ ἄλλως γένηται.

Τῆς δ' ἡδονῆς πρὸ Ἐπικούρου εἰσηγητὴς ἐγένετο Σοφοκλῆς ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν Ἀντιγόνῃ τοιαῦτα εἰπών·

τὰς γὰρ ἡδονὰς
ὅταν προδῶσιν ἄνδρες,[60] οὐ τίθημ' ἐγὼ
ζῆν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἔμψυχον ἡγοῦμαι νεκρόν.
πλούτει τε γὰρ κατ' οἶκον, εἰ βούλει, μέγα,
καὶ ζῇ τύραννον σχῆμ' ἔχων, ἐὰν δ' ἀπῇ
τούτων τὸ χαίρειν, τἄλλ' ἐγὼ καπνοῦ σκιᾶς
οὐκ ἂν πριαίμην ἀνδρὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡδονήν. |

d Καὶ Λύκων δὲ ὁ περιπατητικός, ὥς φησιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος, κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπιδημήσας παιδείας ἕνεκα ταῖς Ἀθήναις περὶ συμβολικοῦ κώθωνος καὶ πόσον ἑκάστη τῶν ἑταιρουσῶν ἐπράττετο μίσθωμα ἀκριβῶς ἠπίστατο. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τοῦ περιπάτου προστὰς ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς φίλους ἀλαζονείᾳ καὶ πολυτελείᾳ πολλῇ χρώμενος· χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν παραλαμβανομένων εἰς αὐτὰ ἀκροαμάτων καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων καὶ στρωμνῆς ἡ λοιπὴ παρασκευὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν δείπνων

[60] The traditional text of Sophocles has καὶ γὰρ ἡδοναὶ / ὅταν προδῶσιν ἀνδρός.

proclamation made to the effect that all philosophers are to leave the area immediately, that any young men caught associating with them are to be hanged, and that their fathers can expect to be tried on capital charges. Be sure this happens.

Before Epicurus,[260] the poet Sophocles in *Antigone* (1165–71)[261] advocated for pleasure, saying something along the following lines:

> Because in fact, when a man
> can no longer enjoy himself, I don't regard
> him as alive; I consider him a living corpse.
> Have enormous wealth in your house, if you like,
> and spend your time dressed like a king! If no
> joy goes along with that, I wouldn't buy the rest of it
> from someone for a plugged nickel, compared to
> pleasure.

So too, according to Antigonus of Carystus (pp. 84–5 Wilamowitz = fr. 23 Dorandi), when Lycon the Peripatetic (fr. 7 Wehrli) visited Athens initially, in order to get an education, he acquired a detailed knowledge of the type of drinking party to which everyone contributes money, and of the price that each of the city's prostitutes charged. And later, after he became the head of Aristotle's school,[262] he gave ostentatious and extremely expensive dinner parties for his friends. For in addition to the entertainers who were invited to them, and the silver dishes, and the bedding, the rest of the preparations, including the elabo-

260 341–270 BCE. Sophocles died in 406.
261 Quoted also at 7.280b–c, where see n.
262 In 269 BCE. Lycon is *PAA* 611920.

περιεργία καὶ ὁ τῶν τραπεζοποιῶν καὶ μαγείρων |
e ὄχλος τοσοῦτος ἦν ὥστε πολλοὺς ὀρρωδεῖν καὶ
βουλομένους προσιέναι πρὸς τὴν διατριβὴν ἀνα-
κόπτεσθαι, καὶ καθάπερ εἰς πολίτευμα πονηρὸν καὶ
χορηγιῶν καὶ λειτουργιῶν πλῆρες εὐλαβουμένους
προσάγειν. ἔδει γὰρ ἄρξαι τε τὴν νομιζομένην ἐν τῷ
περιπάτῳ ἀρχὴν (αὕτη δ' ἦν ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῶν
ἐπιχειρούντων) τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας, εἶτα τῇ ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ
λαβόντα ἀφ' ἑκάστου τῶν ἐπιχειρούντων ἐννέα ὀβο-
λοὺς ὑποδέξασθαι μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς τοὺς τὴν συμ-
βολὴν εἰσενεγκόντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὓς παρακαλέσειεν ὁ
Λύκων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελῶς συναντῶντας τῶν
f πρεσβυτέρων | εἰς τὴν σχολήν, ὥστε γίνεσθαι μηδὲ
εἰς τὸν μυρισμὸν καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ἱκανὸν τὸ ἐκλε-
γόμενον ἀργύριον· ἱεροποιῆσαί τε καὶ τῶν Μουσείων
ἐπιμελητὴν γενέσθαι. ἃ δὴ πάντα ἐφαίνετο λόγου μὲν
ἀλλότρια καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἶναι, τρυφῆς δὲ καὶ περι-
στάσεως οἰκειότερα. καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρίεντό τινες τῶν μὴ
δυναμένων εἰς ταῦτα ἀναλίσκειν ἀπὸ βραχείας καὶ
τῆς τυχούσης ὁρμώμενοι χορηγίας, ὅ γ' ἐθισμὸς ἱκα-
νῶς ἦν ἄτοπος. οὐ γὰρ ἵνα συρρυέντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς
548 ἕως ὄρθρου γενομένης τραπέζης || ἀπολαύσωσιν ἢ
χάριν ἐξοινίας ἐποιήσαντο τὰς συνόδους ταύτας οἱ
περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Σπεύσιππον, ἀλλ' ἵνα φαίνωνται
καὶ τὸ θεῖον τιμῶντες καὶ μουσικῶς ἀλλήλοις συμ-
περιφερόμενοι, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἕνεκεν ἀνέσεως καὶ
φιλολογίας. ἃ δὴ πάντα γέγονεν δεύτερα παρὰ τοῖς

rate nature of the meals and the host of waiters and cooks, were enough to horrify most people; and even though they wanted to be associated with the school, they were kept from doing so, in the same way that people are reluctant to have any contact with a nasty city full of obligatory duties and mandated services. For a person was required to assume the standard duties in Aristotle's school (that is, to supervise the behavior of the new students) for 30 days, and on the final day of the month he had to collect nine obols[263] from every new student and offer a dinner not only to the individuals who had contributed money, but to anyone Lycon might invite as well, along with whatever older men visited the school regularly. The result was that the money collected was not even enough to pay for the perfume and the garlands. In addition, he had to make a sacrifice and take care of the rites in honor of the Muses. All of this patently had nothing to with dialectic or philosophy, and more to do with luxury and pomp. For even if some people who were unable to spend money this way were excused, because their resources were of the average sort and thus limited, the practice was quite disconcerting. Because the followers of Plato and Speusippus[264] (test. 35 Tarán) did not hold meetings like these in order to crowd together in a room to enjoy a meal that lasted until the sun was almost up, or to get drunk, but so that they could be seen honoring the gods and associating with one another in an educated manner, and above all else with an eye to relaxing and discussing literature. Among their successors, however, all

[263] = 1½ drachmas, more than a skilled workman made in a day. [264] I.e. the early Academy (Speusippus being Plato's successor as head of the school; cf. 12.546d).

ὕστερον τῶν τε χλανίδων καὶ τῆς πολυτελείας τῆς εἰρημένης· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε τοὺς λοιποὺς ὑπεξαιροῦμαι. ὁ δὲ Λύκων ὑπ' ἀλαζονείας καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ
b τῆς πόλεως τόπῳ ἐν τῇ Κόνωνος | οἰκίᾳ εἶχεν εἰκοσίκλινον οἶκον, ὃς ἦν ἐπιτήδειος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς ὑποδοχάς. ἦν δὲ ὁ Λύκων καὶ σφαιριστὴς ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐπιδέξιος.

Περὶ δὲ Ἀναξάρχου Κλέαρχος ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν πέμπτῳ Βίων οὕτω γράφει· τῷ εὐδαιμονικῷ καλουμένῳ Ἀναξάρχῳ διὰ τὴν τῶν χορηγησάντων ἄγνοιαν περιπεσούσης ἐξουσίας γυμνὴ μὲν ᾠνοχόει παιδίσκη πρόσηβος ἡ προκριθεῖσα διαφέρειν ὥρᾳ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνασύρουσα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τὴν τῶν οὕτως αὐτῇ χρωμένων
c ἀκρασίαν, ὁ δὲ σιτοποιὸς χειρῖδας ἔχων | καὶ περὶ τῷ στόματι κημὸν ἔτριβε τὸ σταῖς, ἵνα μήτε ἰδρὼς ἐπιρρέοι μήτε τοῖς φυράμασιν ὁ τρίβων ἐμπνέοι. διὸ πρεπόντως ἄν τις εἴποι τῷ σοφῷ τούτῳ φιλοσόφῳ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀναξίλα Λυροποιοῦ·

ξανθοῖς τε μύροις χρῶτα λιπαίνων,
χλανίδας θ' ἕλκων, βλαύτας σύρων,
βολβοὺς τρώγων, τυροὺς κάπτων,
ᾧ' ἐκλάπτων, κήρυκας ἔχων,
Χῖον πίνων, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις

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265 It is unclear whether the Conon in question is the wealthy late 5th/early 4th-century BCE Athenian general (*PAA* 581750) or his eponymous grandson (*PAA* 581755), but the house had clearly

such goals took second place to expensive cloaks and the sort of extravagance described above; for I regard none of the others as exceptions. Lycon was such a buffoon that he had a room in Conon's house,[265] in the nicest part of the city, that could hold 20 couches and which he used for his parties. Lycon was also a good, talented ballplayer.[266]

Clearchus of Soli in Book V of the *Lives* (fr. 60 Wehrli) writes as follows about Anaxarchus:[267] After Anaxarchus (known as the "happiness philosopher") got rich as a result of the ignorance of the people who supported him, his wine was poured by a naked teenage girl who had been selected as the most beautiful of the time—although what she actually exposed was the lack of self-discipline of the people who treated her this way—while his bread-maker wore gloves and a mask over his mouth as he kneaded the dough, to keep any sweat from dripping into it, and to prevent the individual who was working the material from breathing on it. As a consequence, one might appropriately recite to this wise philosopher the passage from Anaxilas' *Lyre-Maker* (fr. 18):

> oiling his skin with golden perfumes,
> trailing cloaks, dragging slippers,
> eating hyacinth bulbs, gobbling cheeses,
> gulping down eggs, having whelks,
> drinking Chian wine, and on top of all that

passed out of the family by the time Lycon moved into a section of it in the middle of the 3rd century.

[266] An oddly inappropriate detail, which would seem to belong instead with material of the sort collected at 1.14e, 15c.

[267] Berve i #70; cf. 6.250f–1a.

ἐν σκυταρίοις ῥαπτοῖσι φορῶν
Ἐφεσήια γράμματα καλά.

πόσῳ γὰρ τούτων βελτίων Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντῖνος, περὶ
d οὗ | φησιν ὁ αὐτὸς Κλέαρχος ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ τῶν Βίων, ὅτι διὰ τὸ σωφρόνως ζῆν σχεδὸν ὀγδοήκοντα[61] ἔτη τῷ φρονεῖν συνεβίωσεν. καὶ ἐπεί τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο τίνι διαίτῃ χρώμενος οὕτως ἐμμελῶς καὶ μετὰ αἰσθήσεως τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζήσειεν, "οὐδὲν πώποτε", εἶπεν, "ἡδονῆς ἕνεκεν πράξας." Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Βυζάντιος ἐν τετάρτῳ Περὶ Ποιημάτων, Γοργίας, φησίν, ὁ Λεοντῖνος ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ γέγονεν αἴτιον τοῦ βιῶσαι πλείω τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν, ἔφη, "τὸ μηθὲν πώποτε ἑτέρου
e ἕνεκεν πεποιηκέναι." Ὦχος δὲ πολλῷ | χρόνῳ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν περὶ τὸν βίον χορηγίαν διαρκῆ κτησάμενος, ὡς τελευτῶντος ἠρώτησεν ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν υἱῶν τί πράσσων τοσαῦτ' ἔτη διαφυλάξειεν τὴν βασιλείαν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο μιμοῖτο, "τὰ δίκαια πράττων", εἶπε, "πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ θεούς." Καρύστιος δ' ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν, Κηφισόδωρος, φησίν, ὁ Θηβαῖος Πολύδωρον τὸν Τήιον ἰατρὸν Ἀντιπάτρῳ συσσιτεῖν ψιλοτάπιδα ἔχοντι Κρητικὴν[62] εὐτελῆ, ἐφ' |
f ἧς κατακεῖσθαι, κάδους δὲ χαλκοῦς καὶ ποτήρια ὀλίγα· γεγονέναι γὰρ ὀλιγοδίαιτον καὶ τρυφῆς ἀλλότριον.

[61] ὀγδοήκοντα (i.e. π′) ACE: ἑκατὸν (i.e. ρ′) Wilamowitz
[62] Κρητικὴν Olson: κρικωτὴν καθάπερ τοὺς στρωματεῖς A

wearing lovely Ephesian letters
in scraps of stitched leather.[268]

How much better Gorgias of Leontini (82 A 11 D–K) was than these people! The same Clearchus in Book VIII of his *Lives* (fr. 62 Wehrli) reports that, because Gorgias led a decent life, he survived to almost 80 without growing demented. When someone asked him how he had behaved, to have lived for so long, and to be so comfortable and in full possession of his faculties, he said: "I never did anything simply because it felt good." Demetrius of Byzantium says in Book IV of *On Poems* (*FHG* ii.624): When Gorgias of Leontini was asked how he had lived to be over 100, he said: "It's because I've never done anything for anyone else." Much later on Ochus[269] got control of the kingdom and of a considerable amount of everything else one needs to enjoy life, and when his oldest son asked him, as he was dying, how he had managed to hold onto the throne for so many years, his own plan being to behave in the same way, Ochus said: "By treating all human beings and all gods the right way." Carystius of Pergamum says in the *Historical Commentaries* (fr. 7, *FHG* iv.357–8): Cephisodorus of Thebes (*FGrH* 112 F 2) (claims that) the Teian physician Polydorus used to eat with Antipater, who had a cheap Cretan carpet that he lay on top of, and bronze winejars, and a few cups; because he led a simple life and avoided luxury.[270]

[268] I.e. magical amulets of some sort.

[269] I.e. Artaxerxes III of Persia (reigned 359/8–338 BCE); cf. 4.150b–c with n.

[270] For Antipater's abstemious lifestyle, cf. 10.435d.

Τιθωνὸν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἕω μέχρι δυσμῶν κοιμώμενον μόλις <αἱ> ἐπιθυμίαι πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐπήγειρον· ὅθεν Ἠοῖ συγκοιμᾶσθαι λεχθεὶς διὰ τὸ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐμπεπλέχθαι < . . . > ἐπὶ τῷ γήρᾳ καθεῖρκται, κρε-
549 μαστὸς ὢν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐκ τούτων. || καὶ Μελάνθιος δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ τράχηλον κατατείνων ἀπήγχετο ἐκ τῶν ἀπολαύσεων, κνισότερος ὢν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως Μελανθίου. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διεστράφησαν διὰ τὰς ἀκαίρους ἡδονάς, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς πάχος σώματος ἐπέδωκαν, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀναισθησίαν διὰ πολλὴν τρυφήν. Νύμφις γοῦν ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ δω-
δεκάτῃ[63] Περὶ Ἡρακλείας, Διονύσιος, φησίν, ὁ Κλεάρχου τοῦ πρώτου τυραννήσαντος ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ υἱὸς καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς πατρίδος τυραννήσας ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ
b τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν | ἀδηφαγίας ἔλαθεν ὑπερσαρκήσας, ὥστε διὰ τὸ πάχος ἐν δυσπνοίᾳ αὐτὸν συσχεθῆναι καὶ πνιγμῷ. διὸ συνέταξαν οἱ ἰατροὶ κατασκευάσαι βελόνας λεπτὰς τῷ μήκει διαφερούσας, ἃς διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν καὶ τῆς κοιλίας διωθεῖν, ὅταν εἰς ὕπνον τύχῃ βαθύτερον ἐμπεσών. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος ὑπὸ τῆς πεπωρωμένης ἐκ τοῦ στέατος σαρκὸς οὐκ ἐνεποίει τὴν αἴσθησιν· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν καθαρὸν τόπον ἡ βελόνη διελθοῦσα ἔθιγεν, τότε διηγείρετο. τοὺς δὲ χρημα-
c τισμοὺς ἐποιεῖτο τοῖς βουλομένοις προτιθέμενος | κι-

[63] δωδεκάτῃι (i.e. ιβ΄) Müller: δευτέρᾳ (i.e. β΄) A

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[271] This material appears to be closely related to Clearchus fr. 55 Wehrli (cited at 1.6b–c, where see nn.).

[272] Referring to the insolent Ithacan goatherd (esp. *Od.*

Because Tithonus slept from dawn until sunset, his desires barely managed to wake him up in the evening;[271] as a consequence, he was said to sleep with Dawn, because he was wrapped up in his desires . . . in his old age he was locked up, and was genuinely suspended from them. So too Melanthius (*TrGF* 23 T 7b) stretched his neck so far that his pleasures choked him to death, since he was more interested in rich food than Odysseus' Melanthius[272] was. Many other people as well utterly ruined their bodies as a consequence of their inopportune indulgence in pleasure, some surrendering to obesity, others to a stupor resulting from their enormous self-indulgence. Nymphis of Heracleia, for example, says in Book XII of *On Heracleia* (*FGrH* 432 F 10):[273] Dionysius, the son of the Clearchus who was the first tyrant of Heracleia, also got control of his native land,[274] and grew imperceptibly ever fatter as a consequence of his addiction to luxury and his overeating every day, with the result that he was so obese that he had difficulty breathing and choked. His physicians accordingly ordered him to have extremely long, thin needles made, and to have them stuck into his sides and his belly whenever he fell into too deep a sleep. As long as the needle was in a part of his body that had been deadened by the fat, he felt nothing; but once it passed through there and came in contact with an undamaged area, he woke up. When someone wanted to conduct business with him, he placed a box

17.212–60, 369–73; 20.173–82), who is not expressly characterized by Homer as a glutton, although he does eat in the palace at *Od.* 17.258–60 (and cf. 20.256, where Philoetius and Melanthius might be mistakenly taken as the subject).

[273] Very similar material is preserved at Ael. *VH* 9.13.

[274] In 337/6 BCE.

βωτὸν τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ μέρη κρύπτοι, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον μόνον ὑπερέχων διαλέγοιτο τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Μένανδρος ἥκιστά γ' ὢν λοίδορος ἐν τοῖς Ἁλιεῦσιν, τὸν μῦθον ὑποστησάμενος ὑπέρ τινων φυγάδων ἐξ Ἡρακλείας·

< . . . > παχὺς γὰρ ὢς ἔκειτ' ἐπὶ στόμα.

καὶ πάλιν·

< . . . > ἐτρύφησεν, ὥστε μὴ πολὺν τρυφᾶν χρόνον.

καὶ ἔτι·

ἴδιον ἐπιθυμῶν, μόνος μοι θάνατος οὗτος φαίνεται
εὐθάνατος, ἔχοντα πολλὰς χολλάδας κεῖσθαι παχὺν |
d ὕπτιον, μόλις λαλοῦντα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμ' ἔχοντ' ἄνω,
ἐσθίοντα καὶ λέγοντα "σήπομ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς."

ἀπέθανεν δὲ βιώσας ἔτη πέντε πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα, ὧν ἐτυράννησεν τρία καὶ τριάκοντα, ἁπάντων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τυράννων πραότητι καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ διενηνοχώς. τοιοῦτος ἐγεγόνει καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ ἕβδομος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσας, ὁ αὐτὸν μὲν Εὐεργέτην ἀνακηρύττων, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρέων Κακεργέτης ὀνομαζό-

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275 Ptolemy VIII (reigned 145–116 BCE); the opening portion

around his body, so that he could keep the rest of himself hidden, allowing him to speak with his visitors with only his head sticking out of the top. Menander—who is not much given to insulting people—mentions Dionysius in his *Fishermen* (fr. 25, encompassing all three quotations), offering the story on behalf of some exiles from Heracleia:

> Because a fat pig was lying on its snout.

And again:

> He lived in luxury, in a way that guaranteed he
> wouldn't do so for long.

Furthermore:

> wanting something peculiar—this seems to me to be
> the only good
> way to die—to be fat and lie on your back, with an
> enormous
> gut, barely able to speak or breathe in and out,
> eating and saying "I feel so good that I'm rotting."

He died at age 55, having been tyrant for 33 years, and having been gentler and more reasonable than any of the tyrants who preceded him. The seventh Ptolemy to rule Egypt—the one who tried to have himself referred to as Euergetês ("the Benefactor"), although the inhabitants of Alexandria called him Kakergetês ("the Malefactor")[275]—

of this sentence is clearly drawn from the same source at 4.184b–c, where the Alexandrians' enmity is explained. The combination of ugly and erratic behavior and extreme obesity might suggest a glancing allusion to the career of G. Bedlinensis, except that Ptolemy published extensively; perhaps one should think instead of C. Nappensis.

μενος. Ποσειδώνιος γοῦν ὁ στωικός, συναποδημήσας
e Σκιπίωνι τῷ Ἀφρικανῷ κληθέντι | εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν
καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτόν, γράφει ἐν ἑβδόμῃ τῶν Ἱστο-
ριῶν οὕτως· διὰ δὲ τρυφὴν διέφθαρτο τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ
παχύτητος καὶ γαστρὸς μεγέθους, ἣν δυσπερίληπτον
εἶναι συνέβαινεν· ἐφ' ἧς χιτωνίσκον ἐνδεδυκὼς ποδή-
ρη μέχρι τῶν καρπῶν χειρῖδας ἔχοντα ‹προῄει›.[64]
προῄει δὲ οὐδέποτε πεζός, εἰ μὴ διὰ Σκιπίωνα. ὅτι δὲ
τρυφῆς οὐκ ἦν ἀλλότριος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, αὐτὸς
περὶ ἑαυτοῦ μαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῷ ὀγδόῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων
διηγούμενος ὅπως τε ἱερεὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ ἐν Κυρήνῃ
f Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ὅπως δεῖπνον | παρεσκεύασε τοῖς πρὸ
αὐτοῦ γενομένοις ἱερεῦσι, γράφων οὕτως· Ἀρτεμίτια
μεγίστη ἑορτὴ ἐν Κυρήνῃ,[65] ἐν ᾗ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλ-
λωνος (ἐνιαύσιος δ' ἐστί) δειπνίζει τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ
ἱερευσαμένους καὶ παρατίθησιν ἑκάστῳ τρυβλίον·
τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ κεραμεοῦν ἄγγος ἐπιδεχόμενον ὡς εἴκοσι
ἀρτάβας, ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀγριμαίων ἔγκειται
πεπονημένα, πολλὰ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων ὀρνίθων,
ἔτι δὲ θαλαττίων ἰχθύων ταρίχου τε ξενικοῦ πλείονα
550 γένη· || πολλάκις δέ τινες καὶ καθάριον[66] ἀκολου-
θίσκον προσδιδόασιν. ἡμεῖς δὲ περιείλομεν τὰ τοι-
αῦτα· φιάλας δ' ὁλαργύρους κατασκευάσαντες, τὸ

64 ‹προῄει› Olson: ‹περιῄει› Kaibel
65 sic CE: μεγίστη ἑορτὴ ἐν Κυρήνῃ ἑορτή A
66 καθάριον Casaubon: κιθάριον A

was the same type of person. Posidonius the Stoic (*FGrH* 87 T 10a = test. 7 Edelstein–Kidd), at any rate, who visited Alexandria along with Scipio Africanus when he was invited there,[276] and who saw Ptolemy, writes as follows in Book VII of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 6 = fr. 58 Edelstein–Kidd): His addiction to luxury led to him being physically disabled, as a result of his obesity and the size of his belly, which was too large to get one's arms around easily. When he went out, he covered it with a tunic that hung to his feet and had sleeves that extended to his wrists; but he never went out on foot, except on Scipio's account.[277] The king himself attests to the fact that he was no stranger to luxury in Book VIII of his *Commentaries* (*FGrH* 234 F 9), when he describes how he was a priest of Apollo in Cyrene and held a dinner for the men who had been priests before him. He writes as follows: The Artemitia is the most important festival in Cyrene, and during the course of it Apollo's priest—this is an annual office—gives a dinner for the men who served as priests before him, and places a bowl beside each of them. This is a ceramic vessel that holds about 20 *artabai*,[278] and it contains many cooked pieces of wild game, as well as many pieces of domesticated birds, along with numerous types of sea-fish and imported saltfish; people frequently add an elegant slave-boy as a gift as well. But I did away with all that; I had solid silver *phialai* ("liba-

[276] Scipio visited Alexandria sometime in the late 140s BCE. It was not Posidonius who accompanied him, however, but the Stoic philosopher Panaetius; cf. 14.657e–f, which features the same error. [277] Apparently intended as a pun, the second meaning being "without a stick to lean on."

[278] An enormous amount, equivalent to about 24 bushels.

τίμημα ἔχουσαν ἑκάστην ἧς προειρήκαμεν δαπάνης, ἵππον τε κατεσκευασμένον σὺν ἱπποκόμῳ καὶ φαλάροις διαχρύσοις ἐδώκαμεν καὶ παρεκαλέσαμεν ἕκαστον ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ καθεσθέντα οἴκαδ' ἀπιέναι. εἰς πάχος δ' ἐπεδεδώκει καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα ἀποκτείνας συμβασιλεύουσαν αὐτῷ.
b φησὶ γοῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ Ποσειδώνιος | ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν οὕτως· ὁ δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου δυνάστης μισούμενος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων, κολακευόμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, ἐν πολλῇ δὲ τρυφῇ ζῶν, οὐδὲ περιπατεῖν οἷός τε ἦν, εἰ μὴ δυσὶν ἐπαπερειδόμενος ἐπορεύετο. εἰς δὲ τὰς ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ὀρχήσεις ἀπὸ μετεώρων κλινῶν καθαλλόμενος ἀνυπόδητος συντονωτέρας αὐτὰς τῶν ἠσκηκότων ἐποιεῖτο.

Ἀγαθαρχίδης δ' ἐν τῇ ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ Εὐρωπιακῶν Μάγαν φησὶ τὸν Κυρήνης βασιλεύσαντα ἔτη πεντήκοντα ἀπολέμητον γενόμενον καὶ τρυφῶντα κατάσαρκον |
c γενέσθαι ἐκτόπως τοῖς ὄγκοις κατὰ τὸν ἔσχατον καιρὸν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πάχους ἀποπνιγῆναι δι' ἀργίαν σώματος καὶ τῷ προσφέρεσθαι πλῆθος τροφῆς. παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ διὰ τῆς ἑβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἀδοξίας νομίζεσθαι, εἴ τις ἦ[67] τὸ σχῆμα ἀνανδρότερον ἔχων ἢ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ σώματος προπετῆ ἐφαίνετο. γυμνῶν κατὰ δέκα ἡμέρας παρισταμένων τοῖς ἐφόροις τῶν νέων. κἀφεώρων

[67] ἦν ἢ ACE: ἦν del. Schweighäuser

tion-bowls") made—each one cost as much as everything mentioned earlier—and I also gave them a horse, complete with a groom and cheek-pieces inlaid with gold, and I invited each of them to sit on his horse and go home. Ptolemy's son Alexander (the one who murdered his own mother when she was sharing the throne with him)[279] also surrendered to obesity. Posidonius in Book XLVII of his *History* (*FGrH* 87 F 26 = fr. 77 Edelstein–Kidd), at any rate, says the following about him: The ruler of Egypt, who was hated by the common people, but flattered by his inner circle, and who lived in enormous luxury, was incapable of walking, unless he leaned on two people as he moved. But he would jump down barefoot from his high couch to join the dances at his drinking parties, and he performed them more vigorously than others who had practiced them.

Agatharchides in Book XVI of the *History of Europe* (*FGrH* 86 F 7) claims that Magas, who was king of Cyrene for 50 years,[280] never fought a war and became enormously heavy near the end of his life as a consequence of his addiction to luxury; he ultimately suffocated because of his obesity, since he never got any exercise and consumed large amounts of food. The same author reports in Book XXVII (*FGrH* 86 F 10)[281] that in Sparta it was regarded as an extraordinary disgrace, if a person seemed to have a relatively unmanly build or a large potbelly, and that the ephors inspected the young men in the nude every ten

[279] Ptolemy X Alexander I (reigned 107–88 BCE). His mother Cleopatra III died in 101. [280] *c.*300–250 BCE.

[281] Similar but more extensive material (unattributed) is preserved at Ael. *VH* 14.7.

d δ' οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ τὰ | περὶ τὴν ἔνδυσιν καὶ τὴν στρωμὴν τῶν νέων· εἰκότως. καὶ γὰρ ὀψοποιοὶ ἦσαν παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις κρέως σκευασίας, ἄλλου δ' οὐδενός. κἀν τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ ὁ Ἀγαθαρχίδης ἔφη ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ναυκλείδην τὸν Πολυβιάδου παντελῶς ὑπερσαρκοῦντα τῷ σώματι καὶ παχὺν διὰ τρυφὴν γενόμενον καταβιβάσαντες εἰς μέσην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ Λυσάνδρου πολλὰ ὀνειδίσαντος ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ὡς τρυφῶντι παρ' ὀλίγον ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀπειλήσαντες τοῦτο ποιήσειν,
e εἰ μὴ τὸν βίον ἐπανορθώσοιτο· | εἰπόντος τοῦ Λυσάνδρου ὅτι καὶ Ἀγησίλαος, ὅτε διέτριβεν περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πολεμῶν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἀσιαγενεῖς ταῖς μὲν στολαῖς πολυτελῶς ἠσκημένους, τοῖς σώμασιν δ' οὕτως ἀχρείους ὄντας, γυμνοὺς πάντας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἁλισκομένους ἐπὶ τὸν κήρυκα ἄγειν καὶ χωρὶς πωλεῖν τὸν τούτων ἱματισμόν, ὅπως οἱ σύμμαχοι γιγνώσκοντες διότι πρὸς μὲν ἅθλα μεγάλα, πρὸς δ' ἄνδρας εὐτελεῖς ὁ ἀγὼν συνέστηκε, προθυμότερον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὁρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους. καὶ
f Ηὔθων δ' ὁ Βυζάντιος ῥήτωρ, ὡς Λέων | ἱστορεῖ ὁ πολίτης αὐτοῦ, πάνυ ἦν παχὺς τὸ σῶμα· καί[68] ποτε στασιάζουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς πολίταις παρακαλῶν εἰς φιλίαν ἔλεγεν· "ὁρᾶτέ με, ἄνδρες πολῖται, οἷός εἰμι τὸ σῶμα· ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκα ἔχω πολλῷ ἐμοῦ παχυτέραν. ὅταν οὖν ὁμονοῶμεν, καὶ τὸ τυχὸν ἡμᾶς

[68] καὶ Βυζαντίοις A: Βυζαντίοις del. Wilamowitz

days. The ephors also kept a close eye daily on how the young men dressed and what they slept on, and rightly so. There were actually chefs in Sparta who prepared meat, but nothing else. So too in Book XXVII Agatharchides (*FGrH* 86 F 11) reported that because Naucleides the son of Polybiades[282] became extremely corpulent and fat, as a result of his addiction to luxury, the Spartans made him stand in the middle of the Assembly; and after Lysander[283] criticized him at length in public for his behavior, they all but kicked him out of the city, and threatened to actually do so, unless he straightened out his life. Because Lysander said that when Agesilaus[284] was spending time in the Hellespont fighting the barbarians, he saw that the Asiatics were wearing expensive clothing, but had correspondingly unimpressive physiques. He accordingly ordered his men to strip all their prisoners-of-war and take them to the auction block, but to sell their clothing separately, so that the allies would recognize that they were struggling for great prizes, but that the contest was against unimpressive men, and would feel more eager to attack their enemies. The orator Python of Byzantium, according to his fellow-citizen Leon (*FGrH* 132 F 1), was also enormously fat. At one point when the inhabitants of Byzantium were involved in a political quarrel with one another, he tried to get them to make up by saying: "Look how large I am, my fellow-citizens; and my wife is even fatter. When we're getting along,

[282] Poralla #548. Naucleides was an ephor in 404/3 and supported Pausanias' policies rather than Lysander's, hence Lysander's ostentatious public abuse of him reported below.

[283] Poralla #504.

[284] Agesilaus II (Poralla #9), reigned 400–360/59 BCE.

σκιμπόδιον δέχεται· ἐὰν δὲ στασιάσωμεν, οὐδὲ ἡ σύμπασα οἰκία."

Πόσῳ οὖν κάλλιόν ἐστιν, ἀγαθὲ Τιμόκρατες, ||
551 πενόμενον εἶναι λεπτότερον ὧν καταλέγει Ἕρμιππος ἐν Κέρκωψιν ἢ ὑπερπλουτοῦντας τῷ Ταναγραίῳ κήτει ἐοικέναι, καθάπερ οἱ προειρημένοι ἄνδρες. φησὶ δ' οὕτως ὁ Ἕρμιππος πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος·

νῦν γὰρ πενόμενοι
ἀνάπηρά σοι θύουσιν ἤδη βοίδια,
Λεωτροφίδου λεπτότερα καὶ Θουμάντιδος.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ λεπτοὺς τούσδε καταλέγει, οὓς καὶ πρέσβεις ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν φησιν
b εἰς | Ἅιδου πέμπεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ ποιητὰς λέγων οὑτωσί·

(Α.) καὶ τίς νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας
ἔτλη κατελθεῖν; (Β.) ἕνα † δ' ἀφ' ἑκάστης
τέχνης
εἰλόμεθα κοινῇ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας,
οὓς ἦσμεν ὄντας ἀδοφοίτας καὶ θαμὰ
ἐκεῖστε φιλοχωροῦντας. (Α.) εἰσὶ γάρ τινες
ἄνδρες παρ' ὑμῖν ἀδοφοῖται; (Β.) νὴ Δία

285 See 12.510b n.

286 Presumably a reference to the greedy Triton described at Paus. 9.20.4.

any little couch has enough room for us. But when we're arguing, the whole house isn't big enough!"

How much better it is, my good Timocrates,[285] to be poor and thinner than the individuals Hermippus lists in *Cercopes* (fr. 36), than to be much too rich and resemble the sea-monster in Tanagra,[286] like the men mentioned above! Hermippus says the following, addressing the speech to Dionysus:

> Because now, since they're poor,
> they sacrifice little, crippled cows to you
> that are thinner than Leotrophides and Thumantis.[287]

So too Aristophanes in *Gerytades* (fr. 156, encompassing both quotations) lists the following thin men, who, he claims, were sent to Hades by the poets as ambassadors to the poets there.[288] He puts it as follows:

> (A.) And who dared descend to the hiding-place of the dead and
> the shadowy gates?[289] (B.) There was an assembly, and
> we agreed on one man † from each profession,
> people we knew traveled to Hades and liked
> to spend time there whenever they could. (A.) You mean there are
> people in your country who travel to Hades? (B.) There certainly are,

[287] Leotrophides is *PAA* 607070. Thumantis is *PAA* 515550.

[288] A radically condensed version of the material that follows (to 12.552b) is preserved at Ael. *VH* 10.6.

[289] An echo of E. *Hec.* 1.

μάλιστά γ'. (A.) *ὥσπερ Θρᾳκοφοῖται;* (B.) *πάντ' ἔχεις.*

(A.) *καὶ τίνες ἂν εἶεν;* (B.) *πρῶτα μὲν*
Σαννυρίων |

c *ἀπὸ τῶν τρυγῳδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν*
Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλίων Κινησίας.

εἶθ' ἑξῆς φησιν·

(A.) *ὡς σφόδρ' ἐπὶ λεπτῶν ἐλπίδων ὠχεῖσθ' ἄρα.*
τούτους γάρ, ἢν πολλῷ ξυνέλθῃ, ξυλλαβὼν
ὁ τῆς διαρροίας ποταμὸς οἰχήσεται.

περὶ δὲ τοῦ Σαννυρίωνος καὶ Στράττις ἐν Ψυχασταῖς φησιν·

Σαννυρίωνος σκυτίνην ἐπικουρίαν.

περὶ δὲ Μελήτου αὐτὸς ὁ Σαννυρίων ἐν Γέλωτι λέγει οὕτως·

< . . . > Μέλητον τὸν ἀπὸ Ληναίου νεκρόν.

d *ἦν δ' ὄντως | λεπτότατος καὶ μακρότατος ὁ Κινησίας, εἰς ὃν καὶ ὅλον δρᾶμα γέγραφεν Στράττις, Φθιώτην Ἀχιλλέα αὐτὸν καλῶν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ αὑτοῦ ποιήσει συνεχῶς τὸ Φθιῶτα λέγειν. παίζων οὖν εἰς τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ ἔφη·*

Φθιῶτ' Ἀχιλλεῦ.

[290] Sannyrio is *PAA* 811865. Meletus is *PAA* 639320; *TrGF* 47. Cinesias is Stephanis #1406; *PAA* 569985. [291] For this as a feature of the Comic Underworld, cf. Ar. *Ra.* 145–6.

by Zeus! (A.) Like people who travel to Thrace? (B.)
That's it.
(A.) And who would they be? (B.) First of all, from
the comic poets
there's Sannyrio; and from the tragic choruses there's
Meletus; and from the cyclic choruses there's
Cinesias.[290]

Then immediately after this he says:

(A.) Well—what awfully slender hopes supported
you, then!
Because if the diarrhea river[291] suddenly picks up
some force,
it'll grab these guys and carry them off.

As for Sannyrio, Strattis says in *Men Who Keep Cool* (fr. 57):

Sannyrio's leather auxiliary force.[292]

And as for Meletus, Sannyrio himself in *Laughter* (fr. 2) says the following:

Meletus the corpse from Lenaion[293].

Cinesias was in fact very thin and tall; Strattis wrote an entire play about him, referring to him as "Phthian Achilleus" because he constantly uses the word "Phthian" in his own poetry. (Strattis) (fr. 17) therefore made fun of this characteristic of his, by saying:

Phthian Achilleus.

[292] I.e. a dildo.

[293] Presumably referring somehow to the Lenaia festival (and Meletus' alleged lack of success there).

ἄλλοι δ' αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης, πολλάκις εἰρήκασι φιλύρινον Κινησίαν διὰ τὸ φιλύρας[69] λαμβάνοντα σανίδα συμπεριζώννυσθαι, ἵνα μὴ κάμπτηται διά τε τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὴν ἰσχνότητα. ὅτι δὲ ἦν ὁ Κινησίας νοσώδης καὶ δεινὸς τἆλλα Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ | Ὑπὲρ Φανίου Παρανόμων ἐπιγραφομένῳ λόγῳ εἴρηκεν, φάσκων αὐτὸν ἀφέμενον τῆς τέχνης συκοφαντεῖν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου πλουτεῖν. ὅτι δὲ ὁ ποιητής ἐστι καὶ οὐχ ἕτερος, σαφῶς αὐτὸς ὢν σημαίνεται ἐκ τοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀθεότητι κωμῳδούμενον ἐμφανίζεσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦ λόγου τοιοῦτον δείκνυσθαι. λέγει δ' οὕτως ὁ ῥήτωρ· θαυμάζω δὲ εἰ μὴ βαρέως φέρετε ὅτι Κινησίας ἐστὶν ὁ τοῖς νόμοις βοηθός, ὃν ὑμεῖς πάντες ἐπίστασθε ἀσεβέστατον ἁπάντων καὶ παρανομώτατον ἀνθρώπων | γεγονέναι. οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν | ὁ τοιαῦτα περὶ θεοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνων, ἃ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις αἰσχρόν ἐστι καὶ λέγειν, τῶν κωμῳδοδιδασκάλων <δ'>[70] ἀκούετε καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν; οὐ μετὰ τούτου ποτὲ Ἀπολλοφάνης καὶ Μυσταλίδης καὶ Λυσίθεος συνειστιῶντο, μίαν ἡμέραν ταξάμενοι τῶν ἀποφράδων, ἀντὶ δὲ νουμηνιαστῶν κακοδαιμονιστὰς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοὔνομα θέμενοι, πρέπον μὲν ταῖς αὑτῶν τύχαις· οὐ μὴν ὡς τοῦτο

[69] τὸ φιλύρας τοῦ ξύλου ACE: τοῦ ξύλου del. Kaibel
[70] add. Musurus

[294] Apollophanes is *PAA* 143890. Mystalides is *PAA* 663545. Lysitheus is *PAA* 614467.

But other authors, such as Aristophanes (*Av.* 1378), routinely refer to Cinesias as *philurinos*, because he took a plank of lime-tree (*philura*) wood and wrapped it around himself, to keep him from bending, since he was so tall and skinny. That Cinesias was unhealthy and a generally conniving character is asserted by the orator Lysias in his speech entitled *On Behalf of Phanius on a Charge of Proposing an Illegal Motion*, where he says that Cinesias abandoned his profession in favor of bringing false charges against people and growing rich that way. As for whether this is the poet rather than someone else, he is manifestly shown to be the same person by the fact that he is openly mocked in comedy for being an atheist and is shown to be such in this speech. The orator puts it as follows (fr. 195 Carey): I am astonished if you are not profoundly upset that the man supposedly defending the laws is Cinesias, since you are all aware that he is the most impious, lawless person alive. Isn't this the individual who committed the sort of crimes against the gods that other people are embarrassed even to mention, but that you hear about from the comic poets every year? Didn't Apollophanes, Mystalides, and Lysitheus[294] used to have feasts with him at one point? and didn't they set aside an unlucky day of the month for this, and refer to themselves not as New-Mooners,[295] but as *Kakodaimonistai*[296]—an appropriate name for how matters turned out for them! This wasn't

[295] I.e. individuals who gathered on the first day of every month for a party; cf. 7.287f (a "fourth-day" club) with n.

[296] "Troublemakers" *vel sim.*, although the name could also be understood to mean the "Bad-luck Boys," as the comment that follows makes clear.

διαπραξόμενοι τὴν διάνοιαν ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ὡς κατα-
552 γελῶντες τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων || τῶν ὑμετέρων.
ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν ἕκαστος ἀπώλετο ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τοὺς
τοιούτους. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ πλείστων γιγνωσκόμενον
οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως διέθεσαν ὥστε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς βούλεσθαι
αὐτὸν ζῆν μᾶλλον ἢ τεθνάναι παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλ-
λοις, ἵν' εἰδῶσιν ὅτι τοῖς λίαν ὑβριστικῶς πρὸς τὰ
θεῖα διακειμένοις οὐκ εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἀποτίθενται τὰς
τιμωρίας, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς κακῶς ἀπολλύουσι, μείζους καὶ
χαλεπωτέρας καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς νόσους <αὐ-
τοῖς>[71] ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις προσβάλλοντες. τὸ
b μὲν γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ | καμεῖν νομίμως κοινὸν ἡμῖν
ἅπασίν ἐστι, τὸ δ' οὕτως ἔχοντα τοσοῦτον χρόνον
διατελεῖν καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀποθνῄσκοντα μὴ
δύνασθαι τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον τούτοις μόνοις προσ-
ήκει τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἅπερ οὗτος ἐξημαρτηκόσιν. περὶ
μὲν οὖν Κινησίου ταῦτα ὁ ῥήτωρ εἴρηκεν. λεπτότερος
δ' ἦν καὶ Φιλίτας ὁ Κῷος ποιητής, ὃς καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ
σώματος ἰσχνότητα σφαίρας ἐκ μολύβου πεποιη-
μένας εἶχε περὶ τὼ πόδε, ὡς μὴ ὑπὸ ἀνέμου ἀνα-
τραπείη. Πολέμων δ' ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν τῷ Περὶ |
c Θαυμασίων Ἀρχέστρατόν φησι τὸν μάντιν ἁλόντα
ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ ἐπὶ ζυγὸν ἀναβληθέντα ὀβολοῦ
ὁλκὴν εὑρεθῆναι ἔχοντα· οὕτως ἦν ἰσχνός. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς
ἱστορεῖ ὡς καὶ Πανάρετος ἰατρῷ μὲν οὐδενὶ ὡμίλησεν,
Ἀρκεσιλάου δὲ ἠκροᾶτο τοῦ φιλοσόφου, καὶ ὅτι συν-

[71] add. Kaibel

what they planned to accomplish, of course; their goal was to make fun of the gods and your laws. But the fact is that they all died just as one would expect people like that to. As for the most widely known of them, the gods treated him in such a way that his enemies would have wanted him to go on living rather than die, making him an example to others, so that they realize that the gods do not wait and punish the children of people who behave in an utterly outrageous way where divine matters are concerned, but destroy the individuals in question themselves, by striking them with greater and harsher misfortunes and diseases than they impose on others. Because dying and suffering from ordinary diseases is an experience we all share; but to go on like this for so long, and to be dying every day, but nonetheless unable to bring one's life to an end—that is reserved exclusively for people who commit the sort of crimes this man did. This is what the orator has to say about Cinesias. The poet Philetas of Cos (test. 8 Sbardella = test. 22a Spanoudakis = adesp. com. fr. *122) was also quite thin; he was so skinny that he had balls of lead attached to his feet, to keep the wind from blowing him over.[297] The travel-writer Polemon in his *On Marvels* (fr. 84 Preller) claims that when the seer Archestratus[298] was captured by the enemy and placed on a scale, they discovered that he weighed only one obol; that is how scrawny he was. The same author records that Panaretus never visited a physician even once, and was a student of the philosopher Ar-

[297] Very similar material is preserved at Ael. *VH* 9.14.
[298] Otherwise unknown.

ἐγένετο Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Εὐεργέτῃ τάλαντα δώδεκα τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν λαμβάνων· ἦν δὲ ἰσχνότατος, ἄνοσος διατελέσας. Μητρόδωρος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ Ἀλειπτικῆς Ἱππώνακτα τὸν ποιητὴν οὐ μόνον μικρὸν
d γενέσθαι τὸ σῶμα, | ἀλλὰ καὶ λεπτόν, ἀκρότονον δ' οὕτως ὡς πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ κενὴν λήκυθον βάλλειν μέγιστόν τι διάστημα, τῶν ἐλαφρῶν σωμάτων διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν ἀέρα τέμνειν οὐκ ἐχόντων βιαίαν τὴν φοράν. λεπτὸς δ' ἦν καὶ Φιλιππίδης, καθ' οὗ λόγος ἐστὶν Ὑπερείδῃ τῷ ῥήτορι, λέγων αὐτὸν ἕνα τῶν πολιτευομένων εἶναι. ἦν δ' εὐτελὴς τὸ σῶμα διὰ λεπτότητα, ὡς ὁ Ὑπερείδης ἔφη. Ἄλεξίς τ' ἐν Θεσπρωτοῖς φησιν·

Ἑρμῆ θεῶν προπομπὲ καὶ Φιλιππίδου |
e κληροῦχε, Νυκτός τ' ὄμμα τῆς μελαμπέπλου.

καὶ Ἀριστοφῶν Πλάτωνι·

(A.) ἐν ἡμέραις τρισὶν
ἰσχνότερον αὐτὸν ἀποφανῶ Φιλιππίδου.
(B.) οὕτως ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις νεκροὺς ποεῖς;

Μένανδρος δὲ Ὀργῇ·

ὁ λιμὸς ὑμῖν τὸν καλὸν τοῦτον δακὼν
Φιλιππίδου λεπτότερον ἀποδείξει νεκρόν.

[299] The coordination with Arcesilaus (*PAA* 202740; head of the Academy c.268–242/1 BCE) makes it clear that this must be Ptolemy III Euergetês I (reigned 246–221). Panaretus is otherwise unknown.

cesilaus; also that he spent time with Ptolemy Euergetês[299] and was paid 12 talents a year. He was extremely scrawny, but died without ever having been sick. Metrodorus of Scepsis in Book II of *On Athletic Training* (*FGrH* 184 F 6) (reports) that the poet Hipponax (test. 19 Degani) was not only short, but skinny as well, but was so muscular that, among other feats, he could throw an empty oilflask a tremendous distance, despite the fact that light objects do not attain much momentum, since they are unable to cut through the air. Philippides[300] was also thin; the orator Hyperides (p. 57 Jensen) attacks him in a speech in which he identifies him as a politician. His thinness made him physically unattractive, according to Hyperides. And Alexis says in *Thesprotians* (fr. 93):

> Hermes, divine escort, to whom Philippides
> belongs by lot;[301] and thou, eye of dark-robed
> Night.[302]

Also Aristophon in *Plato* (fr. 8):

> (A.) You'll see—in three
> days I'll make him thinner than Philippides!
> (B.) You produce corpses that fast?

Menander in *Anger* (fr. 266):

> Famine will knaw on this handsome guy for you
> and make him look like a skinnier corpse than
> Philippides.

[300] *PAA* 928850. Cf. 6.230c with n., 238c.

[301] Sc. because his thinness makes him appear to be on Death's door.

[302] Referring to the moon.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ πεφιλιππιδῶσθαι ἔλεγον τὸ λελεπτύνθαι Ἄλεξις ἐν Μανδραγοριζομένῃ φησίν·

(Α.) κακῶς ἔχεις, † στρουθὶς ἀκαρὴς νὴ Δί' εἶ·
f πεφιλιππίδωσαι. (Β.) μὴ | σὺ καινῶς μοι λάλει.
ὅσον οὐ τέθνηκα. (Α.) τοῦ ταλαιπώρου πάθους.

πολλῷ οὖν κάλλιόν ἐστι τοιοῦτόν τινα εἶναι τὴν ἰδέαν ἢ ὥς φησιν Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Αἰόλῳ·

τοῦτον οὖν
δι' οἰνοφλυγίαν καὶ πάχος τοῦ σώματος
Ἀσκὸν καλοῦσι πάντες οὐπιχώριοι.

Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς Δεινίαν φησὶ τὸν μυροπώλην διὰ τρυφὴν εἰς ἔρωτας ἐμπεσόντα καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἀναλώσαντα, ὡς ἔξω τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐγένετο, ὑπὸ λύπης ἐκταραχθέντα ἐκτε-
553 μεῖν αὑτοῦ τὰ αἰδοῖα, ταῦτα πάντα ποιούσης || τῆς ἀκολάστου τρυφῆς.

Ἔθος δ' ἦν Ἀθήνησι καὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν τρυφώντων ἐναλείφειν μύροις, ὡς Κηφισόδωρος μὲν ἐν Τροφωνίῳ φησίν·

ἔπειτ' ἀλείφεσθαι τὸ σῶμά μοι πρίω

303 Returning to the point made at 12.550f–1a, before the extended catalogue of emaciated individuals that begins there.

304 Otherwise unknown.

Alexis in *The Woman Who Ate Mandrake* (fr. 148) claims that they used the term "Philippidized" to mean "to have lost weight":

> (A.) You're in bad shape, † you're nothing but a sparrow, by Zeus!
> You've Philippidized. (B.) Don't use newfangled vocabulary on me;
> I'm as good as dead. (A.) What a miserable turn of events!

It is therefore much better to look like this[303] than like what Antiphanes describes in *Aeolus* (fr. 20):

> So because this guy
> guzzles wine and is big and fat,
> all the locals call him Askos ("Wineskin").

Heracleides of Pontus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 61 Wehrli = fr. 44 Schütrumpf) claims that the perfume-vendor Deinias'[304] addiction to luxury led him to become involved in love-affairs and spend large amounts of money, and that when he failed to get what he wanted, he was so ravaged by grief that he castrated himself, but that his reckless addiction to luxury was responsible for all of this.

It was an Athenian practice to rub the feet of people addicted to luxury with perfume, according to Cephisodorus in *Trophonius* (fr. 3.1–3):[305]

> Then buy me iris- or rose-perfume

[305] Quoted also, along with two additional verses, at 15.689f, and followed there by a discussion of what *bakcharis/bakkaris* might be (15.690a–c).

μύρον ἴρινον καὶ ῥόδινον, ἄγαμαι, Ξανθία·
καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν χωρὶς πρίω μοι βάκχαριν.

Εὔβουλος δ' ἐν Σφιγγοκαρίωνι·

ἐν θαλάμῳ μαλακῶς κατακείμενον· ἐν δὲ κύκλῳ
νιν
παρθενικὰ τρυφερὰ † χλανιδανα μαλακὰ
κατάθρυπτοι †
τὸν πόδ' ἀμαρακίνοισι μύροις τρίψουσι τὸν †
ἐμόν †. |

b ἐν δὲ Προκρίδι λέγει τις πῶς δεῖ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ τῆς Προκρίδος κυνὸς ὡς περὶ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ κυνὸς τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος·

(Α.) *οὔκουν ὑποστορεῖτε μαλακῶς τῷ κυνί;*
κάτω μὲν ὑποβαλεῖτε τῶν Μιλησίων
ἐρίων, ἄνωθεν δ' ἐπιβαλεῖτε ξυστίδα.
(Β.) *Ἄπολλον.* (Α.) *εἶτα χόνδρον αὐτῷ δεύσετε*
γάλακτι χηνός. (Β.) *Ἡράκλεις.* (Α.) *καὶ τοὺς*
πόδας
ἀλείψετ' αὐτοῦ τῷ Μεγαλλείῳ μύρῳ.

Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ἐν μὲν Ἀλκήστιδι ἐλαίῳ τινὰ ποιεῖ | c χριόμενον τοὺς πόδας. ἐν δὲ Μητραγύρτῃ φησί·

τήν τε παῖδ' ἀλείμματα
παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ λαβοῦσαν εἶτα τοὺς πόδας
ἐκέλευ' ἀλείφειν πρῶτον, εἶτα τὰ γόνατα.
ὡς θᾶττον ἡ παῖς δ' ἥψατ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ποδῶν
ἔτριψέ τ', ἀνεπήδησεν.

to rub on my body, please, Xanthias;
and on top of that, buy me *bakcharis* for my feet!

Eubulus in *Sphinx-Cario* (fr. 107):

lying on soft blankets in a bedroom; and all around
him
luscious young girls † [corrupt] soft mincing †
will massage † my † foot with marjoram-perfumes.

In *Procris* (Eub. fr. 89) someone describes how Procris' dog[306] should be treated, discussing the animal as if it were a human being:

(A.) Spread a soft bed for the dog!
Put one of our Milesian wool blankets
under him, and a saffron-dyed robe over him!
(B.) Apollo! (A.) Then moisten his wheat-pudding
with goose milk! (B.) Heracles! (A.) And rub
his feet with the Megalleian perfume!

Antiphanes in *Alcestis* (fr. 31) represents someone as having his feet anointed with olive oil. And in *The Mendicant Priest of Cybele* (fr. 152) he says:

And he ordered the slave-girl
to get some lotion from the goddess, and to rub
it on his feet first, and then on his knees.
But as soon as the girl touched his feet
and rubbed them, he jumped up.

306 Procris' husband Cephalus had an extraordinary hunting-dog, which is presumably the animal being pampered here.

καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ·

εἶτ' οὐ δικαίως εἰμὶ φιλογύνης ἐγὼ
καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας ἡδέως πάσας ἔχω;
τουτὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ πρῶτον ὃ σὺ ποεῖς παθεῖν,
μαλακαῖς καλαῖς τε χερσὶ τριφθῆναι πόδας, |
d πῶς οὐχὶ σεμνόν ἐστιν;

καὶ ἐν Θορικίοις·

(Α.) λοῦται δ' † ου ο † ἀληθῶς (Β.) ἀλλὰ τί;
(Α.) ἐκ χρυσοκολλήτου γε κάλπιδος μύρῳ
Αἰγυπτίῳ μὲν τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰ σκέλη,
φοινικίνῳ δὲ τὰς γνάθους καὶ τιτθία,
σισυμβρίνῳ δὲ τὸν ἕτερον βραχίονα,
ἀμαρακίνῳ δὲ τὰς ὀφρῦς καὶ τὴν κόμην,
ἑρπυλλίνῳ δὲ τὸ γόνυ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα.

Ἀναξανδρίδης δὲ ἐν Πρωτεσιλάῳ·

μύρῳ δὲ παρὰ Πέρωνος, οὗπερ ἀπέδοτο |
e ἐχθὲς Μελανώπῳ, πολυτελοῦς Αἰγυπτίου,
ᾧ νῦν ἀλείφει τοὺς πόδας Καλλιστράτου.

καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέους δὲ βίον Τηλεκλείδης ἐν

[307] Quoted also at 15.689e–f, where the play is referred to as *Men from Thoricus or The Man Who Was Digging a Trench*.

[308] A verse describing how the other arm was treated has perhaps dropped out of the text.

And in *The Man from Zacynthus* (fr. 101):

So aren't I right to love women
and enjoy all the prostitutes?
Because, number one, to have done to me what
you're doing now—
I mean having my feet rubbed by your soft, pretty
hands—
isn't that great?

And in *Men from Thoricus* (fr. 105):[307]

(A.) She's actually washing [corrupt]—(B.) What?
what?
(A.) her feet and her legs with Egyptian
perfume she took from a container inlaid with gold,
and her cheeks and titties with palm-perfume,
and one arm with mint-perfume,[308]
and her eyebrows and her hair with marjoram-
perfume,
and her knees and her neck with thyme-perfume.

Anaxandrides in *Protesilaus* (fr. 41):[309]

with perfume from Peron,[310] some of which he sold
yesterday to Melanopus—an expensive Egyptian
variety
he's now using to rub Callistratus'[311] feet.

Teleclides in *Prytaneis* (fr. 25) informs us that life in The-

309 Quoted also, with a few variants, at 15.689f–90a.

310 *PAA* 772900. Melanopus (mentioned in the next verse) is *PAA* 638765.

311 *PAA* 561575; cf. 2.44a with n.

Πρυτάνεσιν ἁβρὸν ὄντα παραδίδωσι. Κρατῖνός τ᾽ ἐν Χείρωσι τὴν τρυφὴν ἐμφανίζων τὴν τῶν παλαιτέρων φησίν·

ἁπαλὸν δὲ σισύμβριον ‹ἢ› ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον παρ᾽
οὗς ἐθάκει,
μετὰ χερσὶ δὲ μῆλον ἕκαστος ἔχων σκίπωνά τ᾽
ἠγόραζον.

Κλέαρχος δ᾽ ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἐρωτικοῖς, διὰ τί, φησί, μετὰ χεῖρας ἄνθη καὶ μῆλα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φέρομεν; f πότερον ὅτι καὶ διὰ τῆς τούτων ἀγαπήσεως | ἡ φύσις μηνύει τοὺς τῆς ὥρας ἔχοντας τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν; διὰ τοῦτ᾽ οὖν οἱονεὶ δεῖγμα τῆς ὄψεως τὰ ὡραῖα μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχουσιν καὶ χαίρουσιν αὐτοῖς; ἢ δυοῖν χάριν ταῦτα περιφέρουσιν; ἀρχή τε γὰρ ἐντυχίας καὶ παράδειγμα τῆς βουλήσεως αὐτοῖς γίνεται διὰ τούτων, αἰτηθεῖσι μὲν τὸ προσαγορευθῆναι, δοῦσι δὲ ‹τὸ›[72] προυπογράφειν ὅτι δεῖ καὶ αὐτοὺς μεταδιδόναι τῆς ὥρας. ἡ γὰρ τῶν ὡραίων ἀνθῶν καὶ καρπῶν αἴτησις || 554 εἰς ἀντίδοσιν τῆς τοῦ σώματος ὥρας προκαλεῖται τοὺς λαβόντας. ἢ τὴν τούτων ὥραν παραψυχὴν καὶ παραμυθίαν τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρωμένων ὥρας ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις χαίροντες ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς· ἐκκρούεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς τούτων παρουσίας ὁ τῶν ἐρωμένων πόθος. εἰ μὴ ἄρα

[72] add. Kaibel

mistocles' time[312] was refined. And Cratinus in *Cheirons* (fr. 257) brings out how addicted to luxury people in ancient times were, when he says:

> They used to put some soft mint, or a rose or a lily,
> behind their ear,
> and everyone had an apple or a staff in his hands, and
> they hung around the marketplace.

Clearchus of Soli says in his *Erotica* (fr. 25 Wehrli): Why do we carry flowers, apples, and the like in our hands? Is it because nature uses our fondness for such objects to mark individuals who desire youthful beauty (*hôra*)? Is this the reason, then—visual evidence, as it were—that they hold items that are in season (*hôraia*) in their hands and enjoy them? Or do they carry such objects around for two reasons? Because they serve them as a means of initiating an encounter and as a way of showing what they want: for those who are approached, their willingness to be addressed, and for those who make gifts, their advertising in advance that the others need to share their youthful beauty. Because an approach accompanied by flowers and fruits that are in season (*hôraia*) invites whoever accepts such gifts to offer the youthful beauty (*hôra*) of his body in return. Or perhaps they cling to the beauty of these objects and enjoy the desires they awaken for their own purposes, as a way of calming and mollifying their feelings about the beauty of the individuals they lust for; because their longing for their love-objects is distracted by the presence of such items. Unless perhaps they hold these objects and en-

[312] The prominent Athenian statesman Themistocles (*PAA* 502610) lived *c.*524–459 BCE.

τοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς κόσμου χάριν καθάπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν πρὸς καλλωπισμὸν συντεινόντων ἔχουσί τε ταῦτα καὶ χαίρουσιν αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ μόνον στεφανουμένων τοῖς ὡραίοις ἄνθεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ χεῖρας ἐχόντων τὸ
b πᾶν εἶδος ἐπικοσμεῖται. τάχα | δ' ἴσως διὰ τὸ φιλοκάλους εἶναι· δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ τῶν καλῶν ἐρᾶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὡραῖα φιλικῶς ἔχειν. καλὸν γὰρ τὸ τῆς ὀπώρας καὶ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ὄντως πρόσωπον ἔν τε καρποῖσι καὶ ἄνθεσι θεωρούμενον. ἢ πάντες οἱ ἐρῶντες οἷον ἐκτρυφῶντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ ὡριαινόμενοι τοῖς ὡραίοις ἁβρύνονται; φυσικὸν γὰρ δή τι τὸ τοὺς οἰομένους εἶναι καλοὺς καὶ ὡραίους ἀνθολογεῖν. ὅθεν αἵ τε περὶ τὴν Περσεφόνην ἀνθολογεῖν λέγονται καὶ Σαπφὼ φησιν ἰδεῖν

ἄνθε' ἀμέργοισαν παῖδ' ἄγαν ἀπάλαν.

c Οὕτω δ' | ἐξήρτηντο τῶν ἡδυπαθειῶν οἱ τότε ὡς καὶ Καλλιπύγου Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. ἀνδρὶ ἀγροίκῳ ἐγένοντο δύο καλαὶ θυγατέρες· αὗται φιλονικήσασαί ποτε πρὸς ἑαυτὰς προελθοῦσαι ἐπὶ τὴν λεωφόρον διεκρίνοντο ποτέρα εἴη καλλιπυγοτέρα. καί ποτε παρίοντος νεανίσκου πατέρα πρεσβύτην ἔχοντος ἐπέδειξαν ἑαυτὰς καὶ τούτῳ· καὶ ὃς θεασάμενος ἔκρινε τὴν πρεσβυτέραν· ἧς καὶ εἰς ἔρωτα ἐμπεσὼν ἐλθὼν εἰς ἄστυ κλινήρης

313 Identified by Wilamowitz as an echo of some otherwise unattested passage of poetry.

joy them as a means of making themselves more handsome, like anything else that serves to make a person more attractive; because people's appearance generally is improved not just when they wear garlands made of the flowers that are in season, but when they hold them in their hands. And it might perhaps be because they love beauty; loving whatever is beautiful also indicates a positive attitude toward whatever is *hôraios*. Because the visage of harvest-time, like that of the spring (*hôra*), is truly beautiful when seen in fruits and flowers.[313] Or have all lovers, as it were, sunk deep into luxury as a consequence of what has happened to them, and have they been daintified by using beautiful objects to make themselves attractive? Because it is natural for individuals who believe that they are handsome and full of youthful beauty to gather flowers. This is why the girls who accompany Persephone are said to be gathering flowers (*h.Cer.* 5–8), and why Sappho (fr. 122) claims that she sees

a very delicate girl collecting flowers.

People in those days were so attached to a life of luxury that they actually dedicated a temple to Aphrodite Kallipugos ("of the Beautiful Ass"), for the following reason. A farmer had two beautiful daughters, who got into an argument with one another one day and went out to the road and began soliciting opinions as to which of them had the nicer ass. A young fellow, whose father was an old man, came along at that point, and they showed themselves off to him. After he saw them, he voted for the older girl and fell in love with her; and after he reached the city he got

γίνεται καὶ διηγεῖται τὰ γεγενημένα τῷ ἀδελφῷ | d ἑαυτοῦ ὄντι νεωτέρῳ. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ θεασάμενος τὰς παῖδας ἐρᾷ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἑτέρας. ὁ δ' οὖν πατὴρ ἐπεὶ παρακαλῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνδοξοτέρους λαβεῖν γάμους οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἄγεται ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ τὰς παῖδας αὐτοῖς, πείσας ἐκείνων τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ζεύγνυσι τοῖς υἱοῖς. αὗται οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν Καλλίπυγοι ἐκαλοῦντο, ὡς καὶ ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης Κερκιδᾶς ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις ἱστορεῖ λέγων·

ἦν καλλιπύγων ζεῦγος ἐν Συρακούσαις.

αὗται οὖν ἐπιλαβόμεναι οὐσίας λαμπρᾶς ἱδρύσαντο Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν καλέσασαι Καλλίπυγον τὴν | θεόν, e ὡς ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις.

Ἐν μανίᾳ δὲ τρυφὴν ἡδίστην γενομένην οὐκ ἀηδῶς ὁ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης διηγεῖται ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἡδονῆς οὕτως γράφων· ὁ Αἰξωνεὺς Θράσυλλος ὁ Πυθοδώρου διετέθη ποτὲ ὑπὸ μανίας τοιαύτης ὡς πάντα τὰ πλοῖα τὰ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταγόμενα ὑπολαμβάνειν ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ἀπεγράφετο αὐτὰ καὶ ἀπέστελλε καὶ διῴκει καὶ καταπλέοντα ἀπεδέχετο μετὰ χαρᾶς τοσαύτης ὅσηπερ ἄν τις ἡσθείη τοσούτων χρημάτων κύριος f ὤν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπολομένων οὔτε | ἐπεζήτησεν, τοῖς δὲ σῳζομένοις ἔχαιρεν καὶ διῆγεν μετὰ πλείστης ἡδονῆς.

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314 Sc. to let them marry his sons.

315 A virtually identical anecdote (but set in an almost entirely different words) is preserved at Ael. *VH* 4.25.

sick, and told his brother, who was younger than him, what had happened. His brother also went out into the country, and after he got a look at the girls, he fell in love with the other one. Their father tried to convince them to marry someone more respectable; but when he failed to convince them, he fetched the girls for them from the countryside, having persuaded their father,[314] and joined them to his sons in marriage. The inhabitants of the city accordingly referred to them as the Kallipugoi ("Women with Beautiful Asses"), as Cercidas of Megalopolis reports in his *Iambs* (fr. 14, p. 213 Powell), where he says:

> There were a pair of *kallipugoi* in Syracuse.

After they became owners of some valuable property, therefore, they dedicated a temple to Aphrodite and called the goddess Kallipugos, according to Archelaus in his *Iambs* (*SH* 131).

Heracleides of Pontus in his *On Pleasure* (fr. 56 Wehrli = fr. 40 Schütrumpf) offers quite an amusing account of a very pleasant style of luxury that involved insanity. He writes as follows:[315] Thrasyllus the son of Pythodorus of the deme Aexone[316] became so unbalanced at one point that he was convinced that all the ships putting in to the Piraeus belonged to him; he kept lists of them, ordered them out to sea, made all the necessary arrangements, and received them back into port with as much joy as someone would feel if he were actually that rich. When they were lost, he asked no questions about them; but he was delighted when they returned safely, and he lived an extremely happy life.

316 *PAA* 517600.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Κρίτων ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπιδημήσας συλλαβὼν αὐτὸν παρέδωκεν ἰατρῷ καὶ τῆς μανίας ἐπαύσατο, διηγεῖτο < . . . >, οὐδεπώποτε φάσκων κατὰ τὸν βίον ἡσθῆναι πλείονα· λύπην μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν αὐτῷ παραγίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἡδονῶν πλῆθος ὑπερβάλλειν.

When his brother Crito, who was visiting from Sicily, took charge of him, and turned him over to a physician and got him cured of his madness, he explained . . . saying that he had never been happier in his life; because he was never upset about anything, and the amount of pleasure he experienced was extraordinary.[317]

317 Unlike most other Books of *The Learned Banqueters*, Book 12 does not conclude with a few brief remarks by the internal narrator Athenaeus designed to justify bringing his account to a temporary conclusion at this point, and to set up what follows. Cf. 12.510b n.

ΙΓ

555 Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμῳδιοποιός, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, ὡς ἀνεγίνωσκέ τινα τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κωμῳδιῶν, ὁ δὲ δῆλος ἦν οὐ πάνυ τι ἀποδεχόμενος, "δεῖ γάρ," ἔφησεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν ταῦτα ἀποδεξόμενον ἀπὸ συμβόλων τε πολλάκις δεδειπνηκέναι καὶ περὶ ἑταίρας πλεονάκις καὶ εἰληφέναι καὶ δεδωκέναι πληγάς," ὥς φησι Λυκόφρων ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν τοῖς
b Περὶ Κωμῳδίας. ἡμεῖς οὖν τὸν περὶ ἐρωτικῶν | λόγον ἐνταῦθα μέλλοντες κατατάττειν (ἐγένοντο γὰρ καὶ περὶ γαμετῶν καὶ ἑταιρῶν πολλάκις λόγοι) εἰδόσιν ἐκτιθέμενοι τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Μουσῶν τὴν Ἐρατὼ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι εἰς μνήμην ἡμῖν ἴέναι τὸν ἐρωτικὸν ἐκεῖνον κατάλογον, ἐντεῦθεν τὴν καταρχὴν ποιησόμεθα·

εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν, Ἐρατώ, πάρ θ'[1] ἵστασο καί μοι ἔνισπε

τίνες λόγοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐλέχθησαν. καὶ γὰρ τὰς γαμετὰς ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν ἑστιάτωρ ἐπαινῶν Ἕρμιππον ἔφη ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Νομοθετῶν

[1] The traditional text of Apollonius has παρά θ'.

BOOK XIII

When the comic poet Antiphanes (test. 8), my friend Timocrates, was reading one of his comedies to King Alexander, and Alexander was obviously not much taken by it, Antiphanes said: "That's because, your majesty, anyone who's going to appreciate this material has to have repeatedly eaten dinners for which the guests split the costs,[1] and have traded plenty of punches over whores." Thus Lycophron of Chalcis in his *On Comedy* (fr. 13 Strecker). So since I am now about to set down here my account of our discussion of matters relating to love—for we often talked about married women as well as courtesans—and am offering my report to experts, I will first invoke the Muse Erato,[2] asking that I have no difficulty recalling my catalogue of erotica, and will begin from there (A.R. 3.1):

Come now, Erato! Stand beside me and tell me

what was said about love itself and about subjects connected with it. For our noble host,[3] in the course of praising married women, observed that Hermippus in his *On*

[1] A standard way of organizing a dinner party; cf. Alex. fr. 15 (preserved at 3.117e–18a) with Arnott, *Alexis* pp. 86–7.

[2] Erato was the Muse charged with responsibility for lyric poetry; but her name also puns on *erôs* and "erotica".

[3] Larensius.

c | ἱστορεῖν ὅτι ἐν Λακεδαίμονι εἰς οἴκημά τι σκοτεινὸν πᾶσαι ἐνεκλείοντο αἱ κόραι, συνεγκλειομένων καὶ τῶν ἀγάμων νεανίσκων· καὶ ἕκαστος ἧς ἐπιλάβοιτο, ταύτην ἀπῆγεν ἄπροικον. διὸ καὶ Λύσανδρον ἐζημίωσαν, ὅτι καταλιπὼν τὴν προτέραν ἑτέραν ἐβουλεύετο περικαλλεστέραν ἀγαγέσθαι. Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Παροιμιῶν, ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, φησί, τοὺς ἀγάμους αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ἑορτῇ τινι περὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἕλκουσαι ῥαπίζουσιν, ἵνα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος
d ὕβριν | φεύγοντες φιλοστοργῶσί τε καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ προσίωσι τοῖς γάμοις. ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις πρῶτος Κέκροψ μίαν ἑνὶ ἔζευξεν, ἀνέδην τὸ πρότερον οὐσῶν τῶν συνόδων καὶ κοινογαμίων ὄντων. διὸ καὶ ἔδοξέ τισιν διφυὴς νομισθῆναι, οὐκ εἰδότων τῶν πρότερον διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸν πατέρα. ἐκ τούτων οὖν τις ὁρμώμενος μέμψαιτ' ἂν τοὺς περιτιθέντας Σωκράτει δύο γαμετὰς γυναῖκας, Ξανθίππην καὶ τὴν Ἀριστείδου Μυρτώ, οὐ τοῦ δικαίου
556 καλουμένου (οἱ χρόνοι γὰρ οὐ συγχωροῦσιν) || ἀλλὰ τοῦ τρίτου ἀπ' ἐκείνου. εἰσὶ δὲ Καλλισθένης, Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς, Σάτυρος ὁ περιπατητικός, Ἀριστόξε-

[4] Lysander (Poralla #504; d. 395 BCE) was one of Sparta's most important generals in the late 400s and early 300s.

[5] The mythical king Cecrops was commonly represented as half-snake, half-man. But here the point is that he somehow embodied the two sexes he brought together in marriage.

[6] *PAA* 730275.

[7] Myrto is [*PAA* 662870], but is probably not a real person. For her supposed marriage to Socrates, see also D.L. 2.26. Her sup-

Lawgivers (fr. 87 Wehrli) records that in Sparta all the unmarried girls used to be locked in a dark room, and all the eligible young men were locked in there with them; and each man married whichever girl he grabbed, without a dowry. This is why they fined Lysander[4], because he wanted to abandon the first girl he got and marry one who was more attractive. Clearchus of Soli says in his *On Proverbs* (fr. 73 Wehrli): There is a festival in Sparta at which the women drag the unmarried men around the altar and hit them with sticks, in order to make them fall in love and get married while they are still young, as a way of escaping the insult this treatment involves. In Athens, Cecrops was the first to join individual men and women in marriage; before this, they had sex with anyone they wanted, and all relationships were open. This is why, some people believed, he was thought to have a double nature,[5] since no one before this could identify his father, given the number of candidates. On this basis, therefore, one might criticize the authorities who assign Socrates two legitimate wives, Xanthippe[6] and Myrto the daughter of Aristides[7] (not the Aristides known as "the Just",[8] who was not Socrates' contemporary, but that man's grandson). The authors in question are Callisthenes (*FGrH* 124 F 43), Demetrius of Phaleron (*FGrH* 228 F 45b = fr. 94 Wehrli = fr. 105 Fortenbaugh–Schütrumpf), Satyrus the Peripatetic (fr. 15, *FHG* iii.163 = fr. 17b Schorn), and Aristoxenus (fr. 57

posed father Aristides (a student of Socrates in Plato's dialogues) is *PAA* 165185.

[8] Aristides "the Just" (*PAA* 165170) belongs to the early 5th century BCE, making him several generations older than Socrates (469–399 BCE).

νος, οἷς τὸ ἐνδόσιμον Ἀριστοτέλης ἔδωκεν ἱστορῶν τοῦτο ἐν τῷ Περὶ Εὐγενείας· εἰ μὴ ἄρα συγκεχωρημένον κατὰ ψήφισμα τοῦτο ἐγένετο τότε διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστ' ἐξεῖναι καὶ δύο ἔχειν γυναῖκας τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς τῆς κωμῳδίας ποιητὰς ἀποσιωπῆσαι τοῦτο, πολλάκις τοῦ Σωκράτους μνημονεύοντας. παρέθετο δὲ περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ψήφισμα
b Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος, ὅπερ σοι | διαπέμψομαι εὐπορήσας τοῦ βιβλίου. ἀντεῖπε δὲ τοῖς λέγουσι περὶ τῶν Σωκράτους γυναικῶν Παναίτιος ὁ Ῥόδιος. παρὰ δὲ Πέρσαις ἀνέχεται ἡ βασίλεια τοῦ πλήθους τῶν παλλακίδων διὰ τὸ ὡς δεσπότην ἄρχειν τῆς γαμετῆς τὸν βασιλέα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν βασιλίδα, ὥς φησιν Δίνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς, ὑπὸ τῶν παλλακίδων θρησκεύεσθαι· προσκυνοῦσι γοῦν αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Πρίαμος δὲ πολλαῖς χρῆται γυναιξὶ καὶ ἡ Ἑκάβη οὐ δυσχεραίνει. λέγει γοῦν ὁ Πρίαμος· |

c ἐννεακαίδεκα μέν μοι ἰῆς ἐκ νηδύος ἦσαν,
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους μοι ἔτικτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι
γυναῖκες.

παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐκ ἀνέχεται ἡ τοῦ Φοίνικος μήτηρ τὴν τοῦ Ἀμύντορος παλλακίδα. Μήδεια δὲ καίπερ εἰδυῖα τὸ ἔθος ὅτι ἐστὶ βαρβαρικὸν οὐ φέρει οὐδὲ αὐτὴ τὸν Ἰλαύκης γάμον, ἤδη εἰς τὰ ἀμείνω καὶ

Wehrli); Aristotle set the tone for them by reporting this in his *On Nobility* (fr. 71.2). The alternative explanation, of course, is that this had been agreed to in that period by means of a public decree in response to a population shortage, making it possible for anyone who wished to have two wives; that would explain why the comic poets never mention this fact,[9] even though they frequently refer to Socrates. Hieronymus of Rhodes (fr. 44 Wehrli) cited a decree having to do with women; I will send it to you after I acquire the book. Panaetius of Rhodes (fr. 133 van Straten), on the other hand, argued against those who discuss Socrates' multiple wives. In Persia, the queen puts up with the enormous number of concubines because the king rules his wife in the same way a master does (his slaves), and also because the queen, according to Dinon in his *History of Persia* (*FGrH* 690 F 27), is worshipped by the concubines, who bow down to her, for example. Priam as well sleeps with large numbers of women, and Hecabe gives him no trouble about it. Priam says, for example (*Il.* 24.496–7):

> Nineteen (sons) were born to me from a single
> womb,
> and the women in my house produced the rest.

Among the Greeks, on the other hand, Phoenix's mother did not put up with Amyntor's concubine.[10] And although Medea is aware that this is common practice among the barbarians, she herself refuses to accept (Jason's) marriage to Glauce, since she has by this point grown used to the

[9] I.e. that Socrates supposedly had two wives—as he did not.
[10] Cf. *Il.* 9.449–51.

Ἑλληνικὰ ἐκδεδιητημένη. καὶ ἡ Κλυταιμνήστρα δὲ περιπαθὴς γενομένη τὴν Κασσάνδραν σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἀποκτείνει, ἣν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁ κρείων
d ἐπηγάγετο, ἐν ἔθει γενόμενος | βαρβαρικῶν γάμων. θαυμάσαι δ' ἄν τις, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἰλιάδος Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε Μενελάῳ συγκοιμωμένην παλλακίδα, πᾶσι δοὺς γυναῖκας. κοιμῶνται γοῦν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ γέροντες μετὰ γυναικῶν, Νέστωρ καὶ Φοῖνιξ· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι ἐκλελυμένοι τοῖς σώμασιν ἐν τοῖς τῆς νεότητος χρόνοις ἢ διὰ μέθης ἢ δι' ἀφροδισίων ἢ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀδηφαγίαις ἀπεψίας, ὥστε εἰκότως ἔρρωντο τῷ γήρᾳ. ἔοικεν οὖν ὁ Σπαρτιάτης αἰδεῖσθαι γαμετὴν οὖσαν τὴν Ἑλένην,
e ὑπὲρ ἧς | καὶ τὴν στρατείαν ἤθροισεν· διόπερ φυλάττεται τὴν πρὸς ἄλλην κοινωνίαν. ὁ δ' Ἀγαμέμνων ὡς πολυγύναιος ὑπὸ Θερσίτου λοιδορεῖται·

> πλεῖαί τοι χαλκοῦ κλισίαι, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες
> εἶσιν ἐνὶ κλισίῃς ἐξαίρετοι, ἅς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ
> πρωτίστῳ δίδομεν.

ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰκός, φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, εἰς χρῆσιν εἶναι

[11] Medea was not Greek, but from Colchis in the Black Sea; the story briefly summarized here is the basis of the plot of Euripides' *Medea*. [12] Sc. during the decade he spent at Troy (see the discussion of Priam, above). The story briefly summarized here is the basis of the plot of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*.

better Greek customs.[11] Clytemnestra as well becomes extremely upset and kills Cassandra, along with Agamemnon himself, because the king brought Cassandra to Greece, since he had come to regard barbarian marriages as normal.[12] One might be surprised, says Aristotle (fr. 42), that nowhere in the *Iliad* does Homer represent a concubine as sleeping with Menelaus, although he gives all his other heroes women. Even his old men, Nestor and Phoenix, after all, sleep with women;[13] for they had not ruined their bodies when they were young by getting drunk, or sleeping around, or suffering the sort of indigestion that results from overeating, making it believable that they were still vigorous in their old age. It is thus apparent that the Spartan[14] is showing respect for Helen, who is his legitimate wife and on whose account he put the expedition together; this is why he avoids having sex with anyone else. Agamemnon, on the other hand, is vilified by Thersites as a philanderer (*Il.* 2.226–8):

> Your huts are full of bronze, and many women
> are in them as well—choice women, whom we
> Achaeans
> give to you before anyone else.

But it seems unlikely, says Aristotle, that all these women

[13] The slave-woman Hecamede is said to belong to Nestor at *Il.* 11.624–5. The reference to Phoenix is perhaps a garbled recollection of *Il.* 9.658–68, where Achilleus and Patroclus are said to sleep with women, but Phoenix, who shares their hut for the night, does not. For the thought, cf. 1.25f (patently from the same source).

[14] Menelaus.

τὸ πλῆθος τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς γέρας· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὸν πολὺν οἶνον εἰς τὸ μεθύειν παρεσκευάσατο. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς πλείστας δόξας ἐσχηκέναι γυναῖκας (ἦν γὰρ
f φιλογύνης) ἀνὰ | μέρος αὐτὰς εἶχεν, ὡς ἂν στρατευόμενος καὶ κατὰ διάφορα γιγνόμενος χωρία· ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἐγένετο. ἐν ἑπτὰ μέντοι γε ἡμέραις πεντήκοντα διεπαρθένευσε Θεστίου κόρας, ὡς Ἡρόδωρος ἱστορεῖ. πολυγύναιος δ' ἐγένετο καὶ Αἰγεύς· πρώτην μὲν γὰρ ἔγημε τὴν Ὀπλητος θυγατέρα,
μεθ' ἣν τῶν Χαλκώδοντος μίαν. παραδοὺς δ' ἀμφοτέρας φίλοις συνῆν πολλαῖς χωρὶς γάμων. ἔπειτα τὴν
557 Πιτθέως ἔλαβεν Αἴθραν, μεθ' ἣν Μήδειαν. || Θησεὺς δὲ Ἑλένην ἁρπάσας ἐξῆς καὶ Ἀριάδνην ἥρπασεν. Ἴστρος γοῦν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἀττικῶν καταλέγων τὰς τοῦ Θησέως γενομένας γυναῖκάς φησιν τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξ ἔρωτος γεγενῆσθαι, τὰς δ' ἐξ ἁρπαγῆς, ἄλλας δ' ἐκ νομίμων γάμων· ἐξ ἁρπαγῆς μὲν Ἑλένην, Ἀριάδνην, Ἱππολύτην καὶ τὰς Κερκύονος καὶ Σίνιδος θυγατέρας, νομίμως δ' αὐτὸν γῆμαι

[15] Cf. D.S. 4.29.2–3; Paus. 9.27.6 (who claims that Heracles completed the task in a single night); [Apollod.] *Bib.* 2.4.10 (who says that 50 nights were needed). Thespius was the king of Thespiae; Pausanias and [Apollodorus] call him Thestius.

[16] A mythical early king of Athens, and the father of Theseus by Aethra. [17] Cf. [Apollod.] *Bib.* 3.15.6, who reports that Hoples' daughter was named Meta, and identifies Aegeus' next wife as Chalciope the daughter of Rhexenor.

[18] Cf. Plu. *Thes.* 31–2; [Apollod.] *Bib.* 3.10.7; *Epit.* 1.23. Helen's brothers Castor and Polydeuces promptly recovered her.

were intended to provide sexual services rather than to be a mark of honor; because Agamemnon did not secure himself large quantities of wine (cf. *Il.* 9.71–2) in order to get drunk. Although Heracles appears to have had more wives than anyone else (since he liked women), he had them in succession, as someone might who went on military expeditions and spent time in various places; he also had an enormous number of children by them. He nonetheless deflowered Thestius' 50 daughters over the course of seven days, according to Herodorus (*FGrH* 31 F 20).[15] Aegeus[16] also had a number of wives. The first woman he married was Hoples' daughter,[17] and after her came one of Chalcodon's daughters. He turned both of them over to friends, and slept with many other women without marrying them. After that he married Pittheus' daughter Aethra, and Medea after her. Theseus kidnapped Helen,[18] and then immediately after that kidnapped Ariadne.[19] Istrus in Book XIV of his *History of Attica* (*FGrH* 334 F 10), at any rate, lists Theseus' women and says that some of the relationships were the result of love-affairs, some of kidnappings, while others involved legitimate marriages; he got Helen, Ariadne, Hippolyte,[20] and the daughters of Cercyon and Sinis[21] by kidnapping them, but married

[19] Sc. when he escaped Crete after killing the Minotaur; cf. Plu. *Thes.* 20. [20] The Amazon princess who became the mother of Hippolytus.

[21] Theseus killed both Cercyon (who forced his visitors to wrestle him, and killed them during the match) and Sinis (who forced passers-by to bend a pair of pine trees, which then tore them apart); cf. [Apollod.] *Bib.* 3.16.2; *Epit.* 1.3; Plu. *Thes.* 8.2–3 (who calls Sinis' daughter Perigune); 11.1; 29.1.

Μελίβοιαν τὴν Αἴαντος μητέρα. Ἡσίοδος δέ φησιν καὶ Ἵππην καὶ Αἴγλην, δι' ἣν καὶ τοὺς πρὸς Ἀριάδνην
b ὅρκους παρέβη, | ὥς φησι Κέρκωψ. Φερεκύδης δὲ προστίθησι καὶ Φερέβοιαν, πρὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλένης καὶ ἐκ Τροιζῆνος ἥρπασεν Ἀναξώ, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἱππολύτην Φαίδραν ἔσχεν.

Φίλιππος δ' ὁ Μακεδὼν οὐκ ἐπήγετο μὲν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους γυναῖκας, ὥσπερ Δαρεῖος ὁ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλυθείς, ὃς περὶ τῶν ὅλων πολεμῶν τριακοσίας ἑξήκοντα περιήγετο παλλακάς, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Βίου· ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος αἰεὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐγάμει. ἐν ἔτεσι γοῦν εἴκοσι
c καὶ δυσὶν οἷς ἐβασίλευεν, ὥς φησι Σάτυρος | ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Βίου αὐτοῦ, Αὐδάταν Ἰλλυρίδα γήμας ἔσχεν ἐξ αὐτῆς θυγατέρα Κύνναν· ἔγημεν δὲ καὶ Φίλαν ἀδελφὴν Δέρδα καὶ Μαχάτα. οἰκειώσασθαι δὲ θέλων καὶ τὸ Θετταλῶν ἔθνος ἐπαιδοποιήσατο ἐκ δύο Θετταλίδων γυναικῶν, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἦν Φεραία Νικησίπολις, ἥτις αὐτῷ ἐγέννησε Θετταλονίκην, ἡ δὲ Λαρισαία

[22] Called Periboea at Plu. *Thes.* 29.1, where Pherecoea (mentioned by Pherecydes, below) is also referred to.

[23] Sc. to marry her after she betrayed her father Minos to save his life. For Aegle (the daughter of Panopeus), cf. Plu. *Thes.* 20.1; 29.2. Hippe is otherwise unknown.

[24] For Cercops of Miletus, cf. 11.503d.

[25] Cf. Plu. *Thes.* 29.1.

[26] The Cretan princess who fell in love with Theseus' son Hippolytus and accidentally brought about the ruin of the entire household; cf. 13.560c–d.

Meliboea[22] the mother of Ajax in the conventional way. Hesiod (fr. 147) also mentions Hippe and Aegle, who was the reason Theseus broke the oath he swore to Ariadne,[23] according to Cercops;[24] and Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3 F 153) adds Phereboea. But before Helen Theseus kidnapped Anaxo from Troezen,[25] and after Hippolyte he had Phaedra.[26]

Philip of Macedon did not take women with him on campaign, as the Darius overthrown by Alexander[27] did; even though he was fighting a war that involved control of his entire kingdom, Darius took 360 concubines along with him, according to Dicaearchus in Book III of *On the Greek Life-style* (fr. 64 Wehrli = fr. 77 Mirhady). Philip, on the other hand, routinely got married on campaign. During the 22 years he was king, at any rate, according to Satyrus in his *On the Life of Philip* (fr. 5, *FHG* iii.161 = fr. 25 Schorn), he married Audata of Illyria and had a daughter named Cynna[28] by her. He also married Phila, who was the sister of Derdas and Machatas.[29] And when he wanted to get control of the Thessalians, he produced children by two Thessalian women, one of whom was Nicesipolis of Pherae,[30] who gave him a daughter named Thettalonice, while the other was Philinna of Larisa, who became the

[27] Darius III of Persia (reigned 336–330 BCE).

[28] Berve i #456; also known as Cynnane. See 4.155a n. She was born around 357 BCE, and died in 322.

[29] The point of the reference to Derdas and Machatas is that Phila was a member of the Elimeiot royal house, and thus probably a relative of Harpalus. She appears to have remained childless.

[30] Nicesipolis most likely married Philip in 346 BCE; her daughter Thettalonice (Berve i #370) was probably born shortly thereafter.

Φίλιννα, ἐξ ἧς Ἀρριδαῖον ἐτέκνωσε. προσεκτήσατο δὲ καὶ τὴν Μολοττῶν βασιλείαν γήμας Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἐξ ἧς ἔσχεν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Κλεοπάτραν. καὶ τὴν Θρᾴ-
d κην δὲ | ὅτε εἷλεν, ἦκε πρὸς αὐτὸν Κοθήλας ὁ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεὺς ἄγων Μήδαν τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ δῶρα πολλά· γήμας δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἐπεισήγαγεν τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι. ἐπὶ πάσαις δ' ἔγημε Κλεοπάτραν ἐρασθεὶς τὴν Ἱπποστράτου μὲν ἀδελφήν, Ἀττάλου δὲ ἀδελφιδῆν· καὶ ταύτην ἐπεισάγων τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἅπαντα τὸν βίον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ συνέχεεν. εὐθέως γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς γάμοις ὁ μὲν Ἄτταλος, "νῦν μέντοι γνήσιοι", ἔφη, "καὶ οὐ νόθοι βασιλεῖς γεννηθήσονται." καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκούσας ἔβαλεν ᾗ μετὰ χεῖρας
e εἶχεν | κύλικι τὸν Ἄτταλον, ἔπειτα κἀκεῖνος αὐτὸν τῷ ποτηρίῳ. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ὀλυμπιὰς μὲν εἰς Μολοττοὺς ἔφυγεν, Ἀλέξανδρος δ' εἰς Ἰλλυριούς. καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα δ' ἐγέννησε τῷ Φιλίππῳ θυγατέρα τὴν κληθεῖσαν Εὐρώπην. φιλογύνης δ' ἦν καὶ Εὐριπίδης ὁ ποιητής. Ἱερώνυμος γοῦν ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασίν φησιν οὕτως· εἰπόντος Σοφοκλεῖ τινος ὅτι μισογύνης ἐστὶν Εὐριπίδης, "ἔν γε ταῖς τραγῳδίαις," ἔφη ὁ Σοφοκλῆς· "ἐπεὶ ἔν γε τῇ κλίνῃ φιλογύνης."

[31] Philinna (or Philine) apparently married Philip in 358 BCE; the claim at 13.577f–8a (citing Ptolemy the son of Agesarchus) that she was originally a dancing-girl is almost certainly a slander produced by enemies of her descendants. For Arrhidaeus (Berve i #781), see 13.578a n.

[32] Olympias (Berve i #581) married Philip in 357 BCE. Her

mother of Arrhidaeus.[31] In addition, he acquired the Molossian throne by marrying Olympias,[32] who produced Alexander and Cleopatra for him. So too, when he captured Thrace, the Thracian king Cothelas came to him bringing his daughter Meda,[33] along with a large number of gifts; after Philip married her, he forced Olympias to live in the same house with her. On top of all these women, he fell in love with Cleopatra, who was the sister of Hippostratus and the niece of Attalus, and married her;[34] but when he forced Olympias to share a house with her as well, he wrecked his entire life. For right away, at the wedding feast, Attalus said: "Now, certainly, legitimate kings are going to be born, and not just bastards." When Alexander heard this, he threw the goblet he was holding at Attalus, and Attalus threw his own cup back at him. Afterward, Olympias escaped to Molossia, and Alexander to Illyria. Cleopatra also produced a daughter, named Europe,[35] for Philip. The poet Euripides also liked women. Hieronymus in his *Historical Commentaries* (fr. 36 Wehrli = S. test. 58a = E. test. 107a), for example, says the following: When someone remarked to Sophocles that Euripides hated women, Sophocles said: "In his tragedies he does; but he certainly likes women in bed!"

daughter Cleopatra (to be distinguished from the other Cleopatra mentioned below) is Berve i #433.

[33] The marriage probably dates to 342 BCE; Meda appears to have produced no children. [34] Cleopatra (Berve i #434) gave birth to Europe (below) shortly before Philip was assassinated in 336 BCE; Olympias had them both killed shortly thereafter. Cleopatra's brother Hippostratus is Berve i #390, while her uncle Attalus is Berve i #182. [35] Berve i #326.

f Αἱ δὲ γαμεταὶ ἡμῶν γυναῖκες | οὔκ εἰσι τοιαῦται οἵας Εὔβουλός φησιν ἐν Στεφανοπώλισιν·

μὰ Δί' οὐχὶ περιπεπλασμέναι ψιμυθίοις
οὐδ' ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς συκαμίνῳ τὰς γνάθους
κεχριμέναι. κἂν ἐξίητε τοῦ θέρους,
ἀπὸ τῶν μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑδρορρόαι δύο
ῥέουσι μέλανος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν γνάθων ἱδρὼς
ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἄλοκα μιλτώδη ποεῖ,
ἐπὶ τῷ προσώπῳ δ' αἱ τρίχες φορούμεναι ||
558 εἴξασι πολιαῖς, ἀνάπλεῳ ψιμυθίου.

Ἀναξίλας δὲ ἐν Νεοττίδι φησίν·

ὅστις ἀνθρώπων ἑταίραν ἠγάπησε πώποτε,
οὗ γένος τίς ἂν δύναιτο παρανομώτερον φράσαι;
τίς γὰρ ἢ δράκαιν' ἄμεικτος, ἢ Χίμαιρα
πύρπνοος,
ἢ Χάρυβδις, ἢ τρίκρανος Σκύλλα, ποντία κύων,
Σφίγξ, Ὕδρα, λέαιν', ἔχιδνα, πτηνά θ' Ἅρπυιῶν
γένη,
εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἀφῖκται τοῦ καταπτύστου
γένους; |
b οὐκ ἔνεσθ'· αὗται δ' ἁπάντων ὑπερέχουσι τῶν
κακῶν.
ἔστι δὲ σκοπεῖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πρῶτα μὲν τὴν
Πλαγγόνα,
ἥτις ὥσπερ ἡ Χίμαιρα πυρπολεῖ τοὺς
βαρβάρους.

Our married women are not like those Eubulus describes in *Female Garland-Vendors* (fr. 97):

not plastered with white lead, by Zeus,
or with their cheeks smeared with mulberry juice,
like you! If you go outside during the summer,
two streams of ink flow
from your eyes, the sweat cuts a bright red
furrow from your cheeks to your neck,
and the hairs that grow on your face
turn gray, they're so full of white lead!

Anaxilas says in *Neottis* (fr. 22):

If anyone's ever grown attached to a courtesan—
could you name a more criminal bunch?
Because what fearsome dragon, or fire-breathing
Chimaera,
or Charybdis, or three-headed Scylla, or shark,
Sphinx, Hydra, lion, poisonous snake, or winged flock
of Harpies
outdoes this revolting group?
It's impossible; they're worse than the worst!
You can think about it systematically, starting with
Plangon,[36]
who reduces the barbarians to cinders, like the
Chimaera.

[36] *PAA* 774620.

εἷς μόνος δ' ἱππεύς τις αὐτῆς τὸν βίον
παρείλετο·
πάντα τὰ σκεύη γὰρ ἔλκων ᾤχετ' ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας.
οἱ Σινώπῃ δ' αὖ συνόντες οὐχ Ὕδρᾳ σύνεισι νῦν;
γραῦς μὲν αὐτή, παραπέφυκε δ' ἡ Γνάθαινα
πλησίον, |
c ὥστ' ἀπαλλαγεῖσι ταύτης ἐστὶ διπλάσιον κακόν.
ἡ δὲ Νάννιον τί νυνὶ διαφέρειν Σκύλλης δοκεῖ;
οὐ δύ' ἀποπνίξασ' ἑταίρους τὸν τρίτον θηρεύεται
ἔτι λαβεῖν; ἀλλ' † ἐξέπεσε † πορθμὶς ἐλατίνῳ
πλάτῃ.
ἡ δὲ Φρύνη τὴν Χάρυβδιν οὐχὶ πόρρω που ποεῖ,
τόν τε ναύκληρον λαβοῦσα καταπέπωκ' αὐτῷ
σκάφει;
ἡ Θεανὼ δ' οὐχὶ Σειρήν ἐστιν ἀποτετιλμένη; |
d βλέμμα καὶ φωνὴ γυναικός, τὰ σκέλη δὲ
κοψίχου.
Σφίγγα Θηβαίαν δὲ πάσας ἔστι τὰς πόρνας
καλεῖν,
αἳ λαλοῦσ' ἁπλῶς μὲν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐν αἰνιγμοῖς
τισιν,
ὡς ἐρῶσι καὶ φιλοῦσι καὶ σύνεισιν ἡδέως.
εἶτα "τετράπους μοι γένοιτο", φησί, "† τήνπρος †
ἢ θρόνος,"

[37] Recalling Bellerophon, who rode Pegasus when he killed the Chimaera.

[38] *PAA* 823225.

But one solitary horseman[37] stripped her of her livelihood;
when he left her house, he took all the furniture with him!
As for the people who sleep with Sinope[38]—aren't they sleeping with a Hydra now?
She's an old woman, but Gnathaena's[39] appeared next door;
so if they escape the first, the other one's twice as bad.
What difference can you see today between Nannion[40] and Scylla?
After she strangled two boyfriends, isn't she angling now
to catch a third? But † fell out † a ship with a fir-wood oar.
And isn't Phryne[41] behaving just like Charybdis,
by grabbing the ship-owner and gulping him down, boat and all?
Isn't Theano[42] a Siren with no feathers?
She looks and sounds like a woman—but she's got the legs of a blackbird!
You could call any whore a Theban Sphinx,
because they never talk straight, but speak in riddles,
claiming to love you, and be sweet on you, and enjoy sleeping with you.
Then she says: "I'd like a [corrupt] or a chair with four feet!"

[39] *PAA* 278790. [40] *PAA* 700568. [41] Presumably Phryne of Thespiae (*PAA* 964975), discussed at 13.590d–2f.
[42] *PAA* 501887.

εἶτα δὴ "τρίπους τις", εἶτα, φησί, "παιδίσκη δίπους."
εἶθ' ὁ μὲν γνοὺς ταῦτ' ἀπῆλθεν εὐθὺς ὥσπερ ‹Οἰδίπους›,
οὐδ' ἰδεῖν δόξας ἐκείνην, σῴζεται δ' ἄκων μόνος. |
e οἱ δ' ἐρᾶσθαι προσδοκῶντες εὐθύς εἰσιν ἠρμένοι
καὶ φέρονθ' ὑψοῦ πρὸς αἴθραν. συντεμόντι δ' οὐδὲ ἓν
ἔσθ' ἑταίρας ὅσα πέρ ἐστιν θηρί' ἐξωλέστερον.

τοιαῦτα πολλὰ τοῦ Λαρηνσίου λέγοντος ὁ Λεωνίδης ψέγων τὸ τῆς γαμετῆς ὄνομα τὰ ἐκ τῶν Μάντεων Ἀλέξιδος προηνέγκατο ταυτὶ τῶν ἐπῶν·

ὦ δυστυχεῖς ἡμεῖς ‹ . . . › πεπρακότες
τὴν τοῦ βίου παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν |
f γυναιξὶ δοῦλοι ζῶμεν ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων.
ἔπειτ' ἔχειν προῖκ', οὐχὶ τιμὴν πάσχομεν;
πικράν γε καὶ μεστὴν γυναικείας χολῆς.
ἡ τῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστι πρὸς ἐκείνην μέλι·
οἱ μέν γε συγγνώμην ἔχουσ' ἀδικούμενοι,
αὗται δ' ἀδικοῦσαι καὶ προσεγκαλοῦσ' ἔτι·
ὧν οὐκ ἐχρῆν ἄρχουσιν, ὧν δ' ἄρχειν ἐχρῆν
ἀμελοῦσιν, ἐπιορκοῦσιν, οὐδὲ ἓν κακὸν
ἔχουσι καὶ κάμνειν λέγουσ' ἑκάστοτε. ||

[43] Cf. 2.49c n.; 10.456b.

Then: "or a table with three feet!" And then she says:
"or a slave-girl with two feet!"
Then anyone who can solve these riddles leaves
immediately, like Oedipus,[43]
pretending he doesn't see her; and he's the only one
to get away, even if he doesn't want to.
But the others, who think she loves them, are
immediately grabbed
and carried off high into the air. To sum up, however
many wild beasts
there are, nothing's more dangerous than a courtesan!

After Larensius offered numerous remarks along these lines, Leonidas, finding fault with the very term "married woman", quoted the following verses from Alexis' *Seers* (fr. 150):

Miserable us! . . . We've sold
our right to speak freely in our day-to-day life and to
have a good time,
and we live as women's slaves instead of free men!
So do we claim we've been awarded a dowry, and not
a penalty?
Yes—a bitter one full of female gall!
Men's gall is honey compared to that!
Men forgive you when you do something wrong,
whereas women treat you badly and attack you too!
They get themselves in charge where they shouldn't
be, and ignore what
they should be taking care of; they swear false oathes;
and when there's
nothing wrong with them, they always claim they're
sick.

559 Ξέναρχος δ' ἐν Ὑπνῳ φησίν·

εἶτ' εἰσὶν οἱ τέττιγες οὐκ εὐδαίμονες,
ὧν ταῖς γυναιξὶν οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν φωνῆς ἔνι;

Φιλέταιρος Κορινθιαστῇ·

ὡς τακερόν, ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ μαλακὸν τὸ βλέμμ' ἔχει.
οὐκ ἐτὸς Ἑταίρας ἱερόν ἐστι πανταχοῦ,
ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Γαμετῆς οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Ἄμφις δ' ἐν Ἀθάμαντι·

εἶτ' οὐ γυναικός ἐστιν εὐνοϊκώτερον
γαμετῆς ἑταίρα; πολύ γε καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως. |
b ἡ μὲν νόμῳ γὰρ καταφρονοῦσ' ἔνδον μένει,
ἡ δ' οἶδεν ὅτι ἢ τοῖς τρόποις ὠνητέος
ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ἢ πρὸς ἄλλον ἀπιτέον.

Εὔβουλος δ' ἐν Χρυσίλλᾳ·

κακὸς
κακῶς ἀπόλοιθ' ὅστις γυναῖκα δεύτερος
ἔγημε· τὸν γὰρ πρῶτον οὐκ ἐρῶ κακῶς.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἄπειρος, οἶμαι, τοῦ κακοῦ,

44 Verses identical to the second and third in this fragment are quoted at 13.572d, but are assigned there to *The Huntress*.

45 Cf. 13.571e (an epithet of Aphrodite).

Xenarchus says in *Sleep* (fr. 14):

Aren't the cicadas lucky,
given that their wives are completely unable to
speak?

Philetaerus in *The Whore-Monger* (fr. 5):[44]

Zeus! what a tender, gentle expression's on her face!
It's no wonder there are temples of the Courtesan
everywhere,[45]
but not a single one dedicated to the Married Woman
anyplace in Greece.

Amphis in *Athamas* (fr. 1):

So isn't a courtesan something more pleasant
than a woman you're married to? A lot more—and
for obvious reasons!
The law lets your wife treat you with contempt but
still stay in the house,
whereas a courtesan understands she either has to
buy a person
with the way she acts, or else go find someone else.

Eubulus in *Chrysilla* (fr. 115, encompassing both quotations):

I hope
the bastard who was the second man to get married
gets
what he deserves! Because I won't say anything bad
about the first guy—
since he lacked experience of the trouble he was
getting into, I think,

ὁ δ' οἷον ἦν γυνὴ κακὸν πεπυσμένος.

καὶ προελθών φησιν·

ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμητ', εἶτ' ἐγὼ κακῶς ποτε |
c ἐρῶ γυναῖκας; νὴ Δί' ἀπολοίμην ἄρα,
πάντων ἄριστον κτημάτων. εἰ δ' ἐγένετο
κακὴ γυνὴ Μήδεια, Πηνελόπη δέ <γε>
μέγα πρᾶγμ'. ἐρεῖ τις ὡς Κλυταιμήστρα κακή·
Ἄλκηστιν ἀντέθηκα χρηστήν. ἀλλ' ἴσως
Φαίδραν ἐρεῖ κακῶς τις· ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία
χρηστή—τις ἦν μέντοι; τίς; οἴμοι δείλαιος,
ταχέως γέ μ' αἱ χρησταὶ γυναῖκες ἐπέλιπον,
τῶν δ' αὖ πονηρῶν ἔτι λέγειν πολλὰς ἔχω.

Ἀριστοφῶν δ' ἐν Καλλωνίδῃ· |

d κακὸς κακῶς γένοιθ' ὁ γήμας δεύτερος
θνητῶν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος οὐδὲν ἠδίκει·
οὔπω γὰρ εἰδὼς οὗτος οἷον ἦν κακὸν
ἐλάμβανεν γυναῖχ'· ὁ δ' ὕστερον λαβὼν
εἰς προῦπτον εἰδὼς αὑτὸν ἐνέβαλεν κακόν.

καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Φιλοπάτορι·

whereas the second one had heard what sort of
problem a wife was.

And further on he says:

Oh much-honoured Zeus! Then am I ever going to
say
anything nasty about women? By Zeus, I hope I die if
I do;
they're the best possession there is! If Medea
was a bad woman, Penelope was
something great. Someone'll say Clytemestra was
bad;
I counter her with the excellent Alcestis. Maybe
someone'll
speak badly of Phaedra; but, by Zeus,
there's the marvellous . . . Who was there? Who? Oh,
miserable me—
I ran out of good women right away,
and I still have lots of lousy ones to mention!

Aristophon in *Callonides* (fr. 6):

I hope the bastard who was the second person to
marry gets
what he deserves! The first guy wasn't doing anything
wrong,
since he didn't know what kind of problem a wife was
when he got married. But the next one to do it
knew, and threw himself into obvious danger.

Also Antiphanes in *The Man Who Loved His Father* (fr. 220):

(A.) γεγάμηκε δήπου. (B.) τί σὺ λέγεις; ἀληθινῶς γεγάμηκεν, ὃν ἐγὼ ζῶντα περιπατοῦντά <τε> κατέλιπον;

Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Ἀρρηφόρῳ ἢ Αὐληπρίδι·

(A.) οὐ γαμεῖς, ἂν νοῦν ἔχῃς,
τοῦτον καταλιπὼν τὸν βίον. γεγάμηκα γὰρ
αὐτός· διὰ τοῦτό σοι παραινῶ μὴ γαμεῖν.
(B.) δεδογμένον τὸ πρᾶγμ'· ἀνερρίφθω κύβος.
(A.) πέραινε, σωθείης δέ. νῦν ἀληθινὸν
εἰς πέλαγος αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖς γὰρ πραγμάτων,
οὐ Λιβυκὸν οὐδ' Αἰγαῖον < . . . >,
οὗ τῶν τριάκοντ' οὐκ ἀπόλλυται τρία
πλοιάρια· γήμας δ' οὐδὲ εἷς σέσωσθ' ὅλως.

ἐν δὲ Ἐμπιμπραμένῃ·

ἐξώλης ἀπόλοιθ' ὅστις ποτὲ
ὁ πρῶτος ἦν γήμας, ἔπειθ' ὁ δεύτερος,
εἶθ' ὁ τρίτος, εἶθ' ὁ τέταρτος, εἶθ' ὁ μεταγένης.

Καρκίνος δ' ὁ τραγικὸς ἐν Σεμέλῃ, ἧς ἀρχὴ

ὦ νύκτες,

φησίν·

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί χρὴ γυναῖκας ἐξειπεῖν κακόν;
ἀρκοῦν ἂν εἴη, κἂν γυναῖκ' εἴπῃς μόνον.

(A.) He's gotten married, of course! (B.) What're you talking about? He's actually
gotten married—and he was walking around alive
when I left him?

Menander in *The Arrhephoros or The Pipe-Girl* (fr. 64):

(A.) If you've got any sense, you won't get married
and give up living like this. I'm married
myself—which is why I'm advising you not to do it.
(B.) It's all decided; the die's been cast.
(A.) Go ahead—and good luck. Because you're going
to throw yourself into a real sea of troubles now,
and not the Libyan or the Aegean sea . . . ,
where less than three ships out of thirty
get wrecked. Not one married man escapes undamaged.

And in *The Girl Who Was Set on Fire* (fr. 119):

Damn to hell whoever
the first guy was who got married—and then the second one,
and the third one, and the fourth one, and whoever came after him!

The tragic author Carcinus in *Semele* (*TrGF* 70 F 2), which begins:

O nights!,

says (*TrGF* 70 F 3):

O Zeus, why do I need to say that women are trouble?
It would be enough, if you simply said "a woman".

οὐκ αἰσθάνονται δ' οὐδ' οἱ παρ' ἡλικίαν νέας ἀγόμενοι γυναῖκας εἰς προῦπτον κακὸν αὐτοὺς ἐμβάλλοντες, καίτοι τοῦ Μεγαρικοῦ ποιητοῦ παραινέσαντος αὐτοῖς· ||

560 οὔ τοι σύμφορόν ἐστι γυνὴ νέα ἀνδρὶ γέροντι·
οὐ γὰρ πηδαλίῳ πείθεται ὡς ἄκατος,
οὐδ' ἄγκυραι ἔχουσιν· ἀπορρήξασα δὲ δεσμὰ
πολλάκις ἐκ νυκτῶν ἄλλον ἔχει λιμένα.

καὶ Θεόφιλος δὲ ἐν Νεοπτολέμῳ ἔφη·

οὐ συμφέρον νέα 'στὶ πρεσβύτῃ γυνή·
ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄκατος οὐδὲ μικρὸν πείθεται
ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμ' ἀπορρήξασα ‹δὲ›
ἐκ νυκτὸς ἕτερον λιμέν' ἔχουσ' ἐξευρέθη. |

b οὐδένα δὲ ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖν οἴομαι, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅτι καὶ οἱ μέγιστοι πόλεμοι διὰ γυναῖκας ἐγένοντο, ὁ Ἰλιακὸς δι' Ἑλένην, ὁ λοιμὸς διὰ Χρυσηίδα, Ἀχιλλέως μῆνις διὰ Βρισηίδα. καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς δὲ καλούμενος πόλεμος δι' ἑτέραν γαμετήν, φησὶν Δοῦρις ἐν δευτέρᾳ Ἱστοριῶν, Θηβαίαν γένος, ὄνομα Θεανώ, ἁρπασθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Φωκέως τινός. δεκαετὴς δὲ καὶ οὗτος γενόμενος τῷ δεκάτῳ ἔτει Φιλίππου συμμαχήσαντος πέρας ἔσχεν·

[46] A tendentious summary of events in *Iliad* 1.

[47] I.e. the Third Sacred War, which began around 356 BCE and ended with the destruction of Phocis by Philip II of Macedon in 346.

Men marrying women younger than themselves fail to realize that they are getting into trouble they could have foreseen, given that the poet from Megara advised them (Thgn. 457–60):

> A young wife's not a good fit for an old man.
> Because she's like a rowboat: she pays no attention to the oar,
> and anchors don't keep her in place, and often at night
> she breaks her rope and sails into a different harbor.

Theophilus as well said in *Neoptolemus* (fr. 6):

> A young wife's not a good fit for an old guy.
> Because, like a rowboat, she doesn't pay the slightest attention
> to a single oar, and at night she breaks
> her cable and is found in a different harbor.

I imagine that none of you is unaware, my friends, that the greatest wars occurred on account of women: the Trojan War because of Helen, the plague because of Chryseis, and Achilleus' wrath because of Briseis.[46] The so-called Sacred War[47] likewise happened because of another married woman,[48] according to Duris in Book II of the *History* (*FGrH* 76 F 2); she was a Theban by the name of Theano, and was kidnapped by a Phocian. This war lasted for ten years and finally came to an end in the tenth year, when Philip allied himself with one side; for at that point the

[48] Sc. like Helen, whose decision to run off with Paris sparked the Trojan War.

τότε γὰρ εἷλον οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὴν Φωκίδα. καὶ ὁ Κρι-
c σαϊκὸς δὲ πόλεμος | ὀνομαζόμενος, ὥς φησι Καλ-
λισθένης ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Πολέμου, ὅτε Κιρραῖοι
πρὸς Φωκεῖς ἐπολέμησαν, δεκαέτης ἦν, ἁρπασάντων
Κιρραίων τὴν Πελάγοντος τοῦ Φωκέως θυγατέρα Με-
γιστὼ καὶ τὰς Ἀργείων θυγατέρας ἐπανιούσας ἐκ τοῦ
Πυθικοῦ ἱεροῦ· δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἑάλω καὶ ἡ Κίρρα.
ἀνετράπησαν δὲ καὶ ὅλοι οἶκοι διὰ γυναῖκας, ὁ Φιλίπ-
που τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατρὸς διὰ τὸν Κλεοπάτρας
γάμον, ὁ Ἡρακλέους διὰ τὴν Ἰόλης ἐπιγαμίαν τῆς
d Εὐρύτου θυγατρός, ὁ Θησέως διὰ τὸν[2] | Φαίδρας τῆς
Μίνωος, ὁ Ἀθάμαντος διὰ τὸν Θεμιστοῦς τῆς Ὑψέως,
ὁ Ἰάσονος διὰ τὴν[3] Γλαύκης τῆς Κρέοντος, ὁ Ἀγα-
μέμνονος διὰ Κασσάνδραν. καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον δὲ
Καμβύσου στρατεία, ὥς φησι Κτησίας, διὰ γυναῖκα
ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ Καμβύσης πυνθανόμενος τὰς Αἰγυπτί-
ας γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων
ἔπεμψεν πρὸς Ἄμασιν τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα, μίαν
αἰτῶν πρὸς γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν
e ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ὑπονοήσας μὴ γυναικὸς | ἔξειν
αὐτὴν τιμὴν ἀλλὰ παλλακίδος· ἔπεμψε δὲ τὴν Ἀπρίου

[2] τὸν CE: τὴν A [3] τὴν Kaibel: τὸν ACE

[49] I.e. the First Sacred War in the early 6th century BCE.

[50] See 13.557d–e with nn.

[51] News of Heracles' involvement with Iole led his wife Deianeira to send him a robe smeared with what she thought was a love-charm, but was in fact a terrible poison.

Thebans captured Phocis. According to Callisthenes in his *On the Sacred War* (*FGrH* 124 F 1), what is known as the Crisaic War,[49] when the Cirrhaeans fought the Phocians, also lasted ten years, after the Cirrhaeans kidnapped Megisto, the daughter of Pelagus of Phocis, along the other daughters of the Argives as they were on their way home from the temple in Delphi; Cirrha was captured in the tenth year. Entire households were also ruined because of women: that of Alexander's father Philip, because he married Cleopatra;[50] that of Heracles, because he took a second wife, Iole the daughter of Eurytus;[51] that of Theseus, because he married Phaedra the daughter of Minos;[52] that of Athamas, because he married Themisto the daughter of Hypseus;[53] that of Jason, because he took a second wife, Glauce the daughter of Creon;[54] and that of Agamemnon, because of Cassandra.[55] According to Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 F 13a), Cambyses' expedition against Egypt also occurred because of a woman; for when Cambyses heard that Egyptian women were better in bed than any others, he sent a message to King Amasis of Egypt, asking to marry one of his daughters. Amasis did not give him one of his own children, since he suspected that Cambyses would treat her as a concubine rather than as a wife, but sent him Neitetis

[52] Cf. 13.557b with n.

[53] After Athamas' second wife Ino disappeared, he married Themisto, who plotted to kill Ino's children but was tricked into killing her own (Hyg. *fab.* 4); the story provided the basis of the plot of Euripides' *Ino*.

[54] Leading to Medea's terrible anger and revenge; cf. 13.556c n.

[55] Cf. 13.556c.

θυγατέρα Νειτῆτιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπρίας ἐκπεπτώκει τῆς Αἰγυπτίων βασιλείας διὰ τὴν γενομένην ἧτταν πρὸς Κυρηναίους καὶ ἀνῄρητο ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιδος. ἡσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Καμβύσης τῇ Νειτήτιδι καὶ σφόδρα ἐρεθισθεὶς ἐκμανθάνει παρ' αὐτῆς τὰ πάντα καὶ δεηθείσης ἐκδικῆσαι τοῦ Ἀπρίου τὸν φόνον πείθεται[4] πολεμῆσαι Αἰγυπτίοις. Δίνων δ' ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς καὶ Λυκέας ὁ
f Ναυκρατίτης ἐν τρίτῃ Αἰγυπτιακῶν | τὴν Νειτῆτιν Κύρῳ πεμφθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιδος· ἐξ ἧς γενηθῆναι τὸν Καμβύσην, ὃν ἐκδικοῦντα τῇ μητρὶ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ποιήσασθαι στρατείαν. Δοῦρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος καὶ πρῶτον γενέσθαι πόλεμόν φησι δύο γυναικῶν ‹τὸν›[5] Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης· ἐν ᾧ τὴν μὲν βακχικώτερον μετὰ τυμπάνων προελθεῖν, τὴν δ' Εὐρυδίκην Μακεδονικῶς καθωπλισμένην, ἀσκηθεῖσαν τὰ πολεμικὰ παρὰ Κύννῃ τῇ Ἰλλυρίδι. ||

561 Ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἔδοξε τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν φιλοσόφων περὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ αὐτούς τι εἰπεῖν καὶ περὶ κάλλους. καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι φιλόσοφοι πάμπολλοι, ἐν οἷς τινες καὶ ἐμνημόνευσαν τοῦ σκηνικοῦ φιλοσόφου Εὐριπίδου ἀσμάτων, ὧν ἦν καὶ τάδε·

[4] *πείθεται* Schweighäuser: *πείθει* ACE
[5] add. Kaibel

[56] Cf. 15.680b–c, where Aprias is called Patarmis.

the daughter of Aprias instead. Aprias had lost the Egyptian throne when the inhabitants of Cyrene defeated him, and had been executed by Amasis.[56] Cambyses enjoyed Neitetis and was extremely excited by her, and when she told him the whole story and asked him to avenge the murder of Aprias, he was convinced to make war on Egypt.[57] But Dinon in his *History of Persia* (*FGrH* 690 F 11) and Lyceas of Naucratis in Book III of the *History of Egypt* (*FGrH* 613 F 1) claim that Amasis sent Neitetis to Cyrus,[58] and that Cambyses was her child and attacked Egypt as a way of taking revenge for his mother. Duris of Samos (*FGrH* 76 F 52) says that the first war between two women was the one between Olympias and Eurydice;[59] during the course of it Olympias marched out to the sound of drums, like a bacchant, whereas Eurydice came out in Macedonian armor, having been trained to fight by Cynna of Illyria.

In the aftermath of these remarks, the philosophers present decided that they too should offer some comments about love and beauty. A large number of philosophical speeches were made, in the course of which some of the guests mentioned the lyrics of the stage-philosopher Euripides, including the following passage (fr. 897):

[57] Amasis was overthrown in 525 BCE. Herodotus offers a very similar story (3.1).

[58] Cyrus the Great (d. 530 BCE).

[59] Hadea—later known as Eurydice (Berve i #23)—was the daughter of Cynna/Cynnane (cf. 13.557c with n.). Her battle against Olympias and Aeacides of Epirus took place at Euia in 317 BCE; Hadea/Eurydice's troops deserted her, and afterward Olympias forced her to commit suicide. Cf. 4.155a with n.

παίδευμα δ' Ἔρως σοφίας † ἀρετῆς[6]
πλεῖστον ὑπάρχει, †
καὶ προσομιλεῖν οὗτος ὁ δαίμων
θνητοῖς πάντων ἥδιστος ἔφυ·
καὶ γὰρ ἄλυπον τέρψιν τιν' ἔχων
εἰς ἐλπίδ' ἄγει. τοῖς δ' ἀτελέστοις
τῶν τοῦδε πόνων μήτε συνείην |
b χωρίς τ' ἀγρίων ναίοιμι τρόπων.
τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν προλέγω τοῖσι νέοισιν
μήποτε φεύγειν,
χρῆσθαι δ' ὀρθῶς, ὅταν ἔλθῃ.

καὶ κατὰ τὸν Πίνδαρον δὲ ἄλλος τις ἔφη·

εἴη καὶ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἔρωτι
χαρίζεσθαι κατὰ καιρόν.

ἕτερος δέ τις προσέθηκε τῶν Εὐριπίδου τάδε·

σὺ δ', ὦ θεῶν τύραννε τε κἀνθρώπων Ἔρως,
ἢ μὴ δίδασκε τὰ καλὰ φαίνεσθαι καλά,
ἢ τοῖς ἐρῶσιν, ὧν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἶ,
μοχθοῦσι μόχθους, εὐτυχῶς συνεκπόνει. |
c καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δρῶν τίμιος † θεοῖς † ἔσῃ,
μὴ δρῶν δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ διδάσκεσθαι φιλεῖν
ἀφαιρεθήσῃ χάριτας, αἷς τιμῶσί σε.

[6] ἐρατῆς Housman

Eros, child of Wisdom, † is
the greatest part of virtue †,
and this deity is the most pleasant
of them all for mortals to associate with;
for he offers a painless sort of pleasure and
encourages us to hope. May I not be
among those uninitiated in his labors,
and may I dwell far from rustic manners!
I recommend to the young that they love
and never try to avoid the experience,
but make proper use of it, when it comes.

And someone else said, quoting Pindar (fr. 127.1–2):[60]

May I have the opportunity to love and to bestow
love (*eros*) at the proper time!

Another person added the following passage from Euripides (fr. 136):[61]

Eros, master of both gods and human beings,
either do not teach what is beautiful to appear
beautiful,
or else assist lovers, who are your creatures,
in their struggle, so that they succeed.
If you do this, you will be honored † to gods †,
whereas if you do not, the very fact that they have
learned to love
will lead to you being deprived of the thanks with
which they honor you.

[60] Quoted again, along with a third verse, at 13.601c.

[61] Assigned to the *Andromeda* on the basis of a striking resemblance to the subject matter of E. fr. 138a.

Ποντιανὸς δὲ Ζήνωνα ἔφη τὸν Κιτιέα ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Ἔρωτα θεὸν εἶναι φιλίας καὶ ἐλευθερίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁμονοίας παρασκευαστικόν, ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενός· διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ ἔφη τὸν Ἔρωτα θεὸν εἶναι συν-
d ἐργὸν ὑπάρχοντα πρὸς | τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ τούτου πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν σεμνόν τινα τὸν Ἔρωτα καὶ παντὸς αἰσχροῦ κεχωρισμένον ᾔδεσαν δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὰ γυμνάσια αὐτὸν συνιδρῦσθαι Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ, τῷ μὲν λόγου, τῷ δ' ἀλκῆς προεστῶτι· ὧν ἑνωθέντων φιλία τε καὶ ὁμόνοια γεννᾶται, δι' ὧν ἡ καλλίστη ἐλευθερία τοῖς ταῦτα μετιοῦσιν συναύξεται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχον τοῦ συνουσίας τινὸς διαλαβεῖν προεστάναι
e τὸν Ἔρωτα ὥστε τῆς Ἀκαδημίας | ἐκδήλως τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καθιερωμένης αὐτόθι τὸν Ἔρωτα ἱδρυσάμενοι συνθύουσιν αὐτῷ. Θεσπιεῖς τε τὰ Ἐρωτίδεια τιμῶσιν καθάπερ <Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Παν>αθήναια[7] καὶ τὰ Ὀλύμπια Ἠλεῖοι Ῥόδιοί τε τὰ Ἁλίεια· καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοτελέσι δὲ σπονδαῖς ὡς ἐπίπαν ὁ Ἔρως τιμᾶται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρὸ τῶν παρατάξεων Ἔρωτι προθύονται, ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν παρατεταγμένων φιλίᾳ κειμένης τῆς σωτηρίας τε καὶ νίκης. καὶ Κρῆτες δ' ἐν ταῖς παρα-
f τάξεσι τοὺς καλλίστους τῶν πολιτῶν | κοσμήσαντες διὰ τούτων θύουσι τῷ Ἔρωτι, ὡς Σωσικράτης ἱστορεῖ. ὁ δὲ παρὰ Θηβαίοις ἱερὸς λόχος καλούμενος συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἐραστῶν καὶ ἐρωμένων, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σεμνότητα

[7] suppl. Kaibel

Pontianus observed that Zeno of Citium understood Eros to be a god who prepares us for friendship and freedom, as well as for consensus, but for nothing else. This is why he said in his *Republic* (fr. 263, *SVF* i.61 = 67D Long–Sedley) that Eros is a god who helps keep the city safe. That his philosophical predecessors felt that Eros deserved respect and had nothing to do with shameful behavior is obvious from the fact that he shares cults in the wrestling-schools with Hermes (who represents the power of speech) and Heracles (who represents physical power); when these are combined, friendship and consensus result and enable the individuals who pursue them to attain more of the finest type of freedom. The Athenians were so far from believing that Eros represents sexuality of any kind that, even though the Academy was explicitly dedicated to Athena,[62] they established a cult of Eros there and sacrifice to him as well. The inhabitants of Thespiae celebrate the Erotideia ("Festival of Eros") in the same way the Athenians celebrate the Panathenaia, the Elians the Olympic festival, and the Rhodians the Halieia;[63] Eros is also honored routinely in their public libations. The Spartans make a preliminary sacrifice to Eros before their troops line up for battle, on the ground that safety and victory depend on the men in the ranks being friends. So too the Cretans put their best-looking citizens in the ranks and sacrifice to Eros on their account, according to Sosicrates (*FGrH* 461 F 7). The Thebans' so-called Sacred Band was composed of adult lovers and their boyfriends, as a way of emphasizing their

[62] A virgin goddess. [63] The Panathenaia honored Athena, the Olympic festival Olympian Zeus, and the Halieia the Sun-god (Helios, known on Rhodes as Halios).

ἐμφαίνων, ἀσπαζομένων θάνατον ἔνδοξον ἀντ᾽ αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἐπονειδίστου βίου. Σάμιοι δέ, ὥς φησιν
562 Ἐρξίας ἐν Κολοφωνιακοῖς, γυμνάσιον || ἀναθέντες τῷ Ἔρωτι τὴν διὰ τοῦτον ἀγομένην ἑορτὴν Ἐλευθέρια προσηγόρευσαν· δι᾽ ὃν θεὸν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλευθερίας ἔτυχον, καὶ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι ἐκπεσόντες ἐπεχείρησαν διαβάλλειν πρῶτοι[8] τὰς περὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον πράξεις.

Τούτων λεχθέντων ὁ Πλούταρχος ἀπεμνημόνευσε τῶν ἐκ Φαίδρου Ἀλέξιδος·

πορευομένῳ δ᾽ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν
καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπῆλθέ μοι. |
b καί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀγνοεῖν οἱ ζωγράφοι
τὸν Ἔρωτα, συντομώτατον δ᾽ εἰπεῖν, ὅσοι
τοῦ δαίμονος τούτου ποοῦσιν εἰκόνας.
ἔστιν γὰρ οὔτε θῆλυς οὔτ᾽ ἄρσην, πάλιν
οὔτε θεὸς οὔτ᾽ ἄνθρωπος, οὔτ᾽ ἀβέλτερος
οὔτ᾽ αὖθις ἔμφρων, ἀλλὰ συνενηνεγμένος
πανταχόθεν, ἐνὶ τύπῳ ‹τε› πόλλ᾽ εἴδη φέρων.
ἡ τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρός, ἡ ‹δὲ› δειλία
γυναικός, ἡ δ᾽ ἄνοια μανίας, ὁ δὲ λόγος |

[8] *πρῶτον* Musurus

[64] Sc. because, on the interpretation implicitly offered here, pederastic relationships are a source of extreme embarrassment for everyone involved. For the Sacred Band, cf. 13.602a with n.

[65] Sc. because Harmodius and Aristogiton, who assassinated

respect for the god, since they preferred a glorious death to a shameful and widely-criticized lifestyle.[64] According to Erxias in the *History of Colophon* (*FGrH* 449 F 1), when the Samians dedicated a school to Eros, they called the festival celebrated in his honor the Eleutheria ("Festival of Freedom"); the Athenians were in fact liberated because of Eros,[65] and after the Pisitratids were driven from power, they were the first to attempt to give all the practices associated with this god a bad reputation.

After these remarks were made, Plutarch quoted the passage from Alexis' *Phaedra* (fr. 247):

> As I was traveling from Piraeus, my troubles
> and the lack of any way out of them made me start to philosophize.
> In my opinion, the painters who produce
> pictures of Eros don't know much
> about the god, to put it simply.
> Because he's neither female nor male, and
> neither a god nor a human being, and also
> neither a fool nor thoughtful. Instead, he's a jumble
> of everything, and combines lots of characteristics in a single shape.
> He's as bold as a man, but as cowardly as
> a woman; his irrationality suggests madness, but his ability to calculate
> suggests he's sane; he's as violent as a wild animal, as tough as
> steel, and as prone to resentment as a deity.

the Pisitratid tyrant Hipparchus in 510 BCE—but did not in fact liberate Athens; cf. 15.695a–b with n.—were a pederastic couple. Cf. 13.602a.

c φρονοῦντος, ἡ σφοδρότης δὲ θηρός, ὁ δὲ πόνος
ἀδάμαντος, ἡ φιλοτιμία δὲ δαίμονος.
καὶ ταῦτ' ἐγώ, μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ θεούς,
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔχει γέ τι
τοιοῦτον, ἐγγύς τ' εἰμὶ τοὐνόματος.

Εὔβουλος δ' ἢ Ἀραρὼς ἐν Καμπυλίωνι·

τίς ἦν ὁ γράψας πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἄρα
ἢ κηροπλαστήσας Ἔρωθ' ὑπόπτερον;
ὡς οὐδὲν ᾔδει πλὴν χελιδόνας γράφειν,
ἀλλ' ἦν ἄπειρος τῶν τρόπων τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. |
d ἔστιν γὰρ οὔτε κοῦφος, οὔτε ῥᾴδιος
ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῷ φέροντι τὴν νόσον,
βαρὺς δὲ κομιδῇ. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοι πτερὰ
τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα; λῆρος, εἰ κἄφησέ τις.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν Ἀποκοπτομένῳ·

λέγεται γὰρ λόγος
ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν, μὴ πέτεσθαι τὸν θεὸν
τὸν Ἔρωτα, τοὺς δ' ἐρῶντας· αἰτίαν δ' ἔχειν
ἐκεῖνον ἄλλως, ἠγνοηκότας δὲ τοὺς |
e γραφεῖς ἔχοντα πτέρυγας αὐτὸν ζωγραφεῖν.

Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Ἐρωτικῷ Χαιρήμονά φησι τὸν τραγικὸν λέγειν, ὡς τὸν οἶνον τῶν χρωμένων κεράν-

[66] Athenaeus also expresses doubt about the authorship of the play at 11.471e, but attributes it unambiguously to Eubulus at 7.295e; 13.571f; 14.642e.

As for what all this means, by Athena and
the other gods, I don't know; but all the same, it's
something like that, and I'm close to getting it right.

Eubulus (fr. 40) or Araros in *Campulion*:[66]

Who was the first person, then, to draw
or make a sculpture of Eros with wings?
All that guy knew how to do was draw swallows,
and he wasn't familiar with how the god behaves!
Because Eros doesn't flit about, and it's not easy
to get away from him if you're sick this way;
he's quite oppressive. So how would a creature like
that
have wings? It's nonsense, no matter what people say.

Alexis in *The Man Who Was Mutilated*[67] (fr. 20):

Because the sophists have
a saying, to the effect that it's not the god
Eros who flies, but lovers, and that he's falsely
accused of this, and the painters depict him
with wings out of ignorance.

Theophrastus[68] in his *Erotica* (fr. 559) claims that the tragic author Chaeremon (*TrGF* 71 F 16) used to say that the way wine is mixed for drinkers resembles Eros' behav-

[67] Cited as *The Girl Who Was Mutilated* at 10.431c.

[68] The abrupt reference to Euripides as "this poet" below, followed by the equally abrupt return to discussing Alexis as "this same poet", make it clear that Athenaeus has crudely spliced the material on Theophrastus and Euripides (cf. 13.561a–c, 599f n.) that follows into another source-document (a collection of comic fragments).

νυσθαι, οὕτως καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα· ὃς μετριάζων μέν ἐστιν εὔχαρις, ἐπιτεινόμενος δὲ καὶ διαταράττων χαλεπώτατος. διόπερ ὁ ποιητὴς οὗτος οὐ κακῶς αὐτοῦ τὰς δυνάμεις διαιρῶν φησι·

δίδυμα (γὰρ) < . . . >
τόξα † αὐτὸν ἐντείνεσθαι † Χαρίτων,
τὸ μὲν ἐπ᾽ εὐαίωνι τύχᾳ[9],
τὸ δ᾽ ἐπὶ συγχύσει βιοτᾶς. |

f ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητὴς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐρώντων ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τραυματίᾳ φησὶν οὕτως·

τίς οὐχί φησι τοὺς ἐρῶντας ζῆν μόνους;
‹οὓς› δεῖ γε πρῶτον μὲν στρατευτικωτάτους
εἶναι, πονεῖν τε δυναμένους τοῖς σώμασιν
μάλιστα, προσεδρεύειν τ᾽ ἀρίστους τῷ πόθῳ,
ποιητικούς, ἰταμούς, προθύμους, εὐπόρους
ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις, βλέποντας ἀθλιώτατον.[10] ||

563 Θεόφιλος δ᾽ ἐν τῷ Φιλαύλῳ·

τίς φησι τοὺς ἐρῶντας οὐχὶ νοῦν ἔχειν;
ἢ πού τις ἐστὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἀβέλτερος.
εἰ γὰρ ἀφέλοι τις τοῦ βίου τὰς ἡδονάς,
καταλείπετ᾽ οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν τεθνηκέναι.
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὐτὸς κιθαριστρίας ἐρῶν,

[9] L (the only authority for the complete text of the *IA*) has πότμῳ. [10] ἀθλιώτατον Arnott: ἀθλιωτάτους A (followed by Kassel–Austin)

ior; because when he is moderately strong, he is quite charming, whereas when he is intense and disruptive, he is extremely difficult to deal with. This is why this poet is quite right to distinguish among his powers when he says (E. *IA* 548–51):

> (because) † he stretches † . . .
> twin bows that belong to the Graces,
> one of which leads to happy good fortune,
> while the other destroys one's life.

This same poet in his play entitled *The Man Who Was Wounded* (Alex. fr. 236) says the following about lovers:

> Who denies that lovers are the only people who really
> enjoy life?
> First of all, they have to be like
> soldiers: capable of extremely hard physical
> labor, and outstanding at waiting in ambush for what
> they want;
> creative; bold; eager; resourceful
> in impossible situations; and looking really miserable!

Theophilus in *The Man Who Loved the Pipes* (fr. 12):

> Who says lovers don't have any sense?
> It must be someone who's a real fool!
> Because if you take all the pleasure out of life,
> nothing's left but dying.
> As for me personally, I'm in love with a young woman

παιδὸς κόρης, οὐ νοῦν ἔχω πρὸς τῶν θεῶν;
κάλλει καλῆς, μεγέθει μεγάλης, τέχνῃ σοφῆς·
ἥν ἐστ' ἰδεῖν ἥδιον ἢ τὸ θεωρικὸν |
b ἔχουσιν ὑμῖν διανέμειν ἑκάστοτε.

Ἀριστοφῶν δὲ ἐν Πυθαγοριστῇ·

εἶτ' οὐ δικαίως ἔστ' ἀπεψηφισμένος
ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν τῶν δώδεκ' εἰκότως <τ'> Ἔρως;
ἐτάραττε κἀκείνους γὰρ ἐμβάλλων στάσεις,
ὅτ' ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ λίαν ἦν θρασὺς
καὶ σοβαρός, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰ πτερά,
ἵνα μὴ πέτηται πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν πάλιν,
δεῦρ' αὐτὸν ἐφυγάδευσαν ὡς ἡμᾶς κάτω,
τὰς δὲ πτέρυγας ἃς εἶχε τῇ Νίκῃ φορεῖν |
c ἔδοσαν, περιφανὲς σκῦλον ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐρᾶν Ἄμφις ἐν Διθυράμβῳ φησίν·

τί φῄς; σὺ ταυτὶ προσδοκᾷς πείσειν ἐμέ,
ὡς ἔστ' ἐραστὴς ὅστις ὡραῖον φιλῶν
τρόπων ἐραστής ἐστι, τὴν ὄψιν παρεὶς
σώφρων τ' ἀληθῶς; οὔτε τοῦτο πείθομαι
οὔθ' ὡς πένης ἄνθρωπος ἐνοχλῶν πολλάκις
τοῖς εὐποροῦσιν οὐ λαβεῖν τι βούλεται.

Ἄλεξις Ἑλένῃ· |

[69] I.e. the audience in the theater.

who plays the lyre—and I've got no sense, by the gods?
She's pretty, she's tall, she's good at her job;
and seeing her is more fun than constantly offering you[69]
a part of myself just because you've got the admission price.

Aristophon in *The Pythagorean* (fr. 11):

So isn't it right and reasonable that Eros
was banished by the 12 gods?
He used to cause them trouble by starting arguments,
when he was with them; and since he was too bold
and impetuous, they chopped off his wings,
to keep him from flying back to heaven,
and sent him into exile down below here with us.
And they gave the wings he'd had to Victory
to wear, as a bit of conspicuous plunder taken from their enemies.

On the subject of being in love, Amphis says in *The Dithyramb* (fr. 15):

What're you talking about? Do you think you're going to convince me
that a lover who's fallen for a pretty boy
is in love with how he acts, and ignores how he looks,
or actually has control of himself? I'm no more convinced of that
than I am that a poor person who's always pestering
the rich doesn't want to get something.

Alexis in *Helen* (fr. 70):

d ὡς ὅστις αὐτῆς ‹τῆς› ἀκμῆς τῶν σωμάτων
ἐρᾷ, τὸν ἄλλον δ' οὐδὲ γιγνώσκει χρόνον,[11]
τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐστ', οὐχὶ τῶν φίλων φίλος,
ἀδικεῖ τε τὸν Ἔρωτ' ἐμφανῶς θνητὸς θεόν,
ἄπιστον αὐτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ποῶν.

τούτων τῶν Ἀλέξιδος ἀπομνημονεύσας ὁ Μυρτίλος κᾆτα ἀποβλέψας εἰς τοὺς τὰ τῆς στοᾶς αἱρουμένους τὰ Ἑρμείου τοῦ Κουριέως ἐκ τῶν Ἰάμβων προειπών·

ἀκούσατ', ὦ Στώακες, ἔμποροι λήρου, |
e λόγων ὑποκριτῆρες, οἳ μόνοι πάντα
τἀν τοῖς πίναξι, πρίν τι τῷ σοφῷ δοῦναι,
αὐτοὶ καταρροφεῖτε κᾆθ' ἁλίσκεσθε
ἐναντία πρήσσοντες οἷς τραγῳδεῖτε,

παιδοπῖπαι ὄντες καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐζηλωκότες τὸν ἀρχηγὸν ὑμῶν τῆς σοφίας Ζήνωνα τὸν Φοίνικα, ὃς οὐδέποτε γυναικὶ ἐχρήσατο, παιδικοῖς δ' αἰεί, ὡς Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ Βίου αὐτοῦ. θρυλεῖτε γὰρ ὅτι δεῖ μὴ τῶν σωμάτων ἀλλὰ
f τῆς ψυχῆς ἐρᾶν· οἵτινες μέχρι | ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν

[11] λόγον Musurus (followed by Kassel–Austin)

[70] Presumably a lapse on Athenaeus' part, since at 13.562a Plutarch was said to be speaking. What follows certainly belongs to Myrtilus; cf. 13.566e–f with n., 568e with n.

[71] Zeno (cf. 13.565d n.) was from Citium on Cyprus. His father's name was Mnaseas, and the city had many Phoenician in-

Since someone who's in love with physical
perfection, and doesn't recognize any other time of
life,
is interested in pleasure rather than in his friends.
And even though he's mortal, he openly wrongs a
god,
by making everyone else think the god's
untrustworthy.

After Myrtilus[70] quoted this passage from Alexis, he glanced at the adherents to Stoic doctrine, prefacing his remarks with the passage from Hermeias of Curium's *Iambs* (p. 237 Powell):

Listen, Stoics—you nonsense-merchants
and hypocritical talkers, who all by yourselves gobble
up
everything that's on the platters, before offering
a bit to a wise man, and are then convicted
of doing the opposite of your pompous remarks!

You ogle boys—which is the only way you follow the example of the founder of your school, Zeno the Phoenician (fr. 247, *SVF* i.58–9),[71] who never had sex with a woman, but always did it with boys, according to Antigonus of Carystus in his *On the Life of Zeno* (p. 117 Wilamowitz = fr. 33A Dorandi). Because you talk nonsense about how we should not love bodies, but the soul—you who claim we ought to hang on to our boyfriends until they are 28 years old![72] In

habitants (D.L. 7.1), and he may well therefore have been of Phoenician stock.

[72] Cf. 13.564f, 565e–f.

δεῖν λέγοντες συνέχειν τοὺς ἐρωμένους. καί μοι δοκεῖ Ἀρίστων ὁ Κεῖος ὁ περιπατητικὸς οὐ κακῶς εἰρηκέναι ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ τῶν Ἐρωτικῶν Ὁμοίων πρός τινα Ἀττικόν, μέγαν τινὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπιδεικνύντα ὡς καλόν, ᾧ Δῶρος ἦν ὄνομα· "τὴν πρὸς Δόλωνά μοι", φησί, "δοκῶ παρ' Ὀδυσσέως ἀπάντησιν ἐπὶ σὲ μεταφέρειν·

ἦ ῥά νύ τοι μεγάλων Δώρων ἐπεμαίετο θυμός." ||

564 Ἡγήσανδρος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι τῶν ἡδυσμάτων φησὶν ἐρᾶν πάντας, οὐ τῶν κρεῶν οὐδὲ τῶν ἰχθύων· ἀπογενομένων γοῦν τούτων οὐδεὶς ἡδέως ἔτι προσφέρεται τὸ κρέας οὐδὲ τὸν ἰχθὺν οὐδ' ἐπιθυμεῖ τῶν ὠμῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνηδύντων.

Καὶ γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν παίδων ἤρων, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἀρίστων ἔφη, ὅθεν καὶ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐρωμένους συνέβη παιδικά. πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γάρ, καθάπερ φησὶ Κλέαρχος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἐρωτικῶν, Λυκοφρονίδην εἰρηκέναι[12].

b οὔτε | παιδὸς ἄρρενος οὔτε παρθένων
τῶν χρυσοφόρων οὐδὲ γυναικῶν βαθυκόλπων
καλὸν τὸ πρόσωπον, ἀλλ' ὃ κόσμιον πεφύκει·
ἡ γὰρ αἰδὼς ἄνθος ἐπισπείρει.

καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἔφη τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἰς οὐδὲν

[12] εἰρηκέναι φησίν A: φησίν del. Meineke

my opinion, the Peripatetic Ariston of Ceos in Book II of *On Erotica of Similar Sorts* (fr. 18 Wehrli = fr. 13A Fortenbaugh–White) offered a fine response to a certain Atticus,[73] when Atticus pointed out a boy named Dorus, who was big for his age, and said that he was good-looking: "I believe", said Ariston, "that I can apply Odysseus' reply to Dolon to you (*Il.* 10.401):

> Certainly now your heart was set on large gifts
> (*dôra*)!"

Hegesander in his *Commentaries* (fr. 26, *FHG* iv.418) claims that everyone loves the sauces, rather than the meat or the fish. Once the sauces are gone, at any rate, no one enjoys eating the meat or the fish any longer, just as no one is interested in raw or unseasoned food.[74]

The fact is that in ancient times people fell in love with boys (*paides*), as Ariston (fr. 17 Wehrli = fr. 13A Fortenbaugh–White, continued) said, which is how young men with adult lovers came to be referred to as *paidika*. Because, as Clearchus notes in Book I of his *Erotica* (fr. 22 Wehrli), Lycophronides (*PMG* 843) is right to say:

> No male child, or unmarried girl
> wearing gold, or deep-bosomed woman
> has a pretty face, unless it expresses modesty.
> For a sense of decency sows beauty on a person.

Aristotle (fr. 43) as well claimed that the only part of their

[73] *PAA* 226980; the boy to whom he was attracted is *PAA* 378590. [74] The point is presumably, *mutatis mutandis*, that everyone finds adolescent boys attractive, but that no one in his right mind is drawn to them once they become adults.

ἄλλο τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἐρωμένων ἀποβλέπειν ἢ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἐν οἷς τὴν αἰδῶ κατοικεῖν. Σοφοκλῆς δέ που περὶ τοῦ Πέλοπος διαλεγομένην ποιήσας τὴν Ἱπποδάμειάν φησιν·

τοίαν Πέλοψ ἴυγγα θηρατηρίαν |
c ἔρωτος, ἀστραπήν τιν' ὀμμάτων, ἔχει·
ᾗ θάλπεται μὲν αὐτός, ἐξοπτᾷ δ' ἐμέ,
ἴσον μετρῶν ὀφθαλμόν, ὥστε τέκτονος
παρὰ στάθμην ἰόντος ὀρθοῦται κανών.

Λικύμνιος δ' ὁ Χῖος τὸν Ὕπνον φήσας ἐρᾶν τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος οὐδὲ καθεύδοντος αὐτοῦ κατακαλύπτει τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἀλλὰ ἀναπεπταμένων τῶν βλεφάρων κοιμίζει τὸν ἐρώμενον, ὅπως διὰ παντὸς ἀπολαύῃ τῆς
d τοῦ θεωρεῖν ἡδονῆς. | λέγει δ' οὕτως·

Ὕπνος δὲ χαίρων
ὀμμάτων αὐγαῖς, ἀναπεπταμένοις
ὅσσοις ἐκοίμιζεν κόρον.

καὶ ἡ Σαπφὼ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὑπερβαλλόντως θαυμαζόμενον τὴν μορφὴν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενόν φησιν·

στᾶθι † κἄντα † φίλος
καὶ τὰν ἐπ' ὄσσοισ' ὀμπέτασον χάριν.

ὁ δ' Ἀνακρέων τί φησίν;

boyfriends' bodies that lovers pay attention to is the eyes, which is where the sense of decency resides. Sophocles (fr. *474)[75] somewhere represents Hippodameia as discussing Pelops, and says:

> Such is the captivating love-magic, a lighting-bolt
> that emerges from his eyes, that Pelops commands!
> He himself is warmed by it, and he reduces me to
> ash,
> staring straight into my eyes, just as the carpenter's
> string stretches straight when he goes to mark a line.

Licymnius of Chios says that Sleep was in love with Endymion, and therefore did not cover the boy's eyes even when he was asleep, but put his beloved to bed with his eyes wide open, so that he could always enjoy looking at them. He puts it as follows (*PMG* 771):

> Sleep enjoyed
> the light from his eyes, and lulled
> the boy to sleep with them wide open.

Sappho (fr. 138) as well says to the man who is much-admired for his physique and considered handsome:

> Stand † also opposite †, dear one,
> and spread wide the delight that is in your eyes.

And what does Anacreon (*PMG* 360) say?

[75] Probably from *Oenomaus*. Hippodameia's father Oenomaus required her suitors to compete with him in a chariot race, and killed them if they lost. Pelops won the race (and Hippodameia's hand) by convincing Oenomaus' driver to sabotage his chariot.

ὦ παῖ παρθένιον βλέπων,
δίζημαί σε, σὺ δ' οὐ κλύεις,
οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι τῆς ἐμῆς
ψυχῆς ἡνιοχεύεις.

ὁ δὲ μεγαλοφωνότατος Πίνδαρος

e *τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου (φησίν) ἀκτῖνας | < . . . >*
ὅσσων
μαρμαρυζοίσας δρακεὶς
ὃς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος
ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν <καρδίαν>
ψυχρᾷ <φλογί>.

ὁ δὲ τοῦ Κυθηρίου Φιλοξένου Κύκλωψ ἐρῶν τῆς Γαλατείας καὶ ἐπαινῶν αὐτῆς τὸ κάλλος, προμαντευόμενος τὴν τύφλωσιν πάντα μᾶλλον αὐτῆς ἐπαινεῖ ἢ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μνημονεύει, λέγων ὧδε·

ὦ καλλιπρόσωπε χρυσεοβόστρυχε,[13]
χαριτόφωνε θάλος Ἐρώτων.

f *τυφλὸς ὁ ἔπαινος καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ὅμοιος | τῷ Ἰβυκείῳ ἐκείνῳ·*

Εὐρύαλε γλαυκέων Χαρίτων θάλος < . . . >
καλλικόμων μελέδημα, σὲ μὲν Κύπρις
ἅ τ' ἀγανοβλέφαρος Πει-
θὼ ῥοδέοισιν ἐν ἄνθεσι θρέψαν.

O boy with a virginal glance,
I am seeking you out, but you pay no attention,
unaware that you hold the reins
that govern my soul.

The outspoken Pindar (fr. 123.2–6) says:[76]

As for the sparkling rays of Theoxenus'
eyes, whoever looks on them
and is not roiled with desire has a black heart
forged with cold fire out of steel
or iron.

The Cyclops of Philoxenus of Cythera (*PMG* 821) is in love with Galateia[77] and praises her beauty; and because he foresees that he will be blinded, he praises all her parts, except that he makes no mention of her eyes, putting it thus:

O child of the Love-gods, with your beautiful face,
and your golden locks of hair, and your pleasant
voice!

His praise is blind and utterly unlike that offered by the famous Ibycus (*PMG* 288):

Euryalus, offspring of the brilliant Graces and
cared for by the fair-haired . . . , Cypris[78] and
Persuasion with her gentle glances
brought you up among rose-petals.

[76] Quoted at greater length at 13.601d–e.
[77] Cf. 1.6e–7a with nn. [78] Aphrodite.

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[13] χρυσεοβόστρυχε Γαλάτεια ACE: Γαλάτεια del. Wilamowitz

Φρύνιχός τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Τρωίλου ἔφη·

λάμπει δ' ἐπὶ πορφυρέαις παρῇσι φῶς ἔρωτος.

Ὑμεῖς δὲ ξυρουμένους τὰ γένεια περιφέρετε τοὺς ἐρωμένους· τοῦ ξύρεσθαι τὸν πώγωνα κατ' Ἀλέξαν-
565 δρον || εὑρημένου, ὥς φησιν ὑμῶν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Περὶ τοῦ Καλοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἡδονῆς. οὐκ ἀκαίρως δ', ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, μεμνήσομαι τῆς λέξεως· χαίρω γὰρ πάνυ τῷ ἀνδρὶ διά τε τὴν πολυμαθίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἤθους ἐπιείκειαν. λέγει δὲ οὕτως ὁ φιλόσοφος· τὸ ξύρεσθαι τὸν πώγωνα κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον προῆκται, τῶν προτέρων οὐ χρωμένων αὐτῷ. καὶ γὰρ Τιμόθεος ὁ αὐλητὴς πώγωνα μέγαν ἔχων ηὔλει, καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις διατηροῦσιν οὐ σφόδρα ἀρχαῖον τὸν πρῶτον περικει-
b ράμενον | παρωνύμιον ἔχειν Κόρσην. διὸ καὶ Ἄλεξις ἔφη που·

‹ἂν› πιττοκοπούμενόν τιν' ἢ ξυρούμενον
ὁρᾷς, † τοῦτον ἔχει τι † θάτερον·
ἢ γὰρ † στρατεύειν † ἐπινοεῖν μοι φαίνεται
καὶ πάντα τῷ πώγωνι δρᾶν ἐναντία.

79 Quoted also at 13.603f–4a.

80 A handsome young prince of Troy, killed by Achilleus (*Cypr.* arg. 63 Bernabé; cf. *Il.* 24.255–7).

81 Sc. because they are actually adult men—and thus too old to properly be anyone's boyfriend. Cf. 13.563e–f, 565e–f.

82 Alexander the Great lived 356–323 BCE.

83 Like the objects of this attack, Chrysippus was a Stoic.

And Phrynichus (*TrGF* 3 F 13)[79] said about Troilus:[80]

The light of love shines on his rosy cheeks.

The boyfriends you take everywhere with you, on the other hand, have their cheeks shaved.[81] The practice of shaving one's beard was invented in Alexander's time,[82] according to your[83] Chrysippus in Book IV of *On the Beautiful and Pleasure* (xxviii fr. 2, *SVF* iii.198). Nor is this a bad time, in my judgment, to quote his remarks; for I am quite fond of the man, on account of both his enormous learning and his good character. The philosopher puts it as follows: The practice of shaving one's beard became fashionable in Alexander's time; previously people did not do this. The piper Timotheus,[84] in fact, used to have a full beard when he played, and in Athens they maintain that it was not very long ago that the first person to shave his face completely got the nickname Korsês.[85] This is why Alexis (fr. 266) said somewhere:[86]

If you see someone with his legs waxed or his beard
shaved, † something has this guy † one or the other:
because either, I'd say, he's got it in mind † to go on
campaign †
and to do everything directly opposite to what a
beard implies,

[84] Timotheus of Thebes (Berve i #749; Stephanis #2417) was a contemporary of Alexander the Great (cf. 12.538f), hence the reference to him here.

[85] Cognate with *keirô*, "cut off, shear hair".

[86] The quotation may well be Athenaeus' own insertion into the text of Chrysippus.

ἢ πλουσιακὸν τούτῳ <τι> προσπίπτει κακόν.
τί γὰρ αἱ τρίχες λυποῦσιν ἡμᾶς, πρὸς θεῶν,
δι' ἃς ἀνὴρ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν φαίνεται, |
c εἰ μή τι ταύταις ἀντιπράττεσθ' ὑπονοεῖς;

Διογένης δὲ ἰδών τινα οὕτως ἔχοντα τὸ γένειον ἔφησεν· "μή τι ἔχεις ἐγκαλεῖν τῇ φύσει, ὅτι ἄνδρα σὲ ἐποίησε καὶ οὐ γυναῖκα;" ἕτερον δέ τινα ἐπὶ ἵππου ἰδὼν παραπλησίως ἔχοντα καὶ μεμυρισμένον καὶ τούτοις ἀκολούθως ἠμφιεσμένον, πρότερον μὲν ἔφησε ζητεῖν τί ἐστιν ὁ ἱππόπορνος, νῦν δ' εὑρηκέναι. ἐν Ῥόδῳ δὲ νόμου ὄντος μὴ ξύρεσθαι οὐδ' ὁ ἐπιλη-
d ψόμενος οὐδείς ἐστιν διὰ τὸ πάντας ξύρεσθαι· ἐν Βυζαντίῳ δὲ ζημίας ἐπικειμένης | τῷ ἔχοντι ξυρὸν[14] οὐδὲν ἧττον πάντες χρῶνται αὐτῷ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ θαυμάσιος εἶρηκε Χρύσιππος. ὁ δὲ σοφὸς ἐκεῖνος Ζήνων, ὥς φησιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος, προμαντευόμενος ὑμῶν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς προσποιητοῦ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἔφη ὡς οἱ παρακούσαντες αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων καὶ μὴ συνέντες ἔσονται ῥυπαροὶ καὶ ἀνελεύθεροι, καθάπερ οἱ τῆς Ἀριστίππου παρενεχθέντες αἱρέσεως ἄσωτοι καὶ θρασεῖς. καὶ δὴ τοι-
e οῦτοι ὑμῶν εἰσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι, | συνεσπασμένοι καὶ

[14] τῷ ἔχοντι κουρεῖ ξυρὸν ACE: κουρεῖ del. Kaibel

[87] Literally "horse-whore"; but the element *hippo-* was used colloquially in the sense "big".

[88] Zeno of Citium, the founder of the Stoa; cf. 13.563e n.

or he's been hit with the sort of trouble that comes
with being rich.
Because what trouble does hair cause us, by the gods,
when it's what makes it apparent that we're all men—
unless you're planning to do something that suggests
the contrary?

When Diogenes (Diog. Sinop. *SSR* V B 404) saw someone whose chin was shaved, he said: "So you've got a complaint against nature, because it made you a man rather than a woman?" And when he saw someone else on horseback (*epi hippou*) who had also shaved, and who was soaked in perfume and dressed in a way that matched all this, he said that he had always wondered what a *hippopornos*[87] was, but now he had figured it out. Although there is a law on Rhodes that no one is allowed to shave his beard, there is no one who can prosecute the cases, because everyone does this; and although in Byzantium a penalty is supposedly imposed on anyone who owns a razor, they all use them nonetheless. This is what the marvellous Chrysippus says. The well-known sage Zeno[88] (fr. 242, *SVF* i.57–8), on the other hand, according to Antigonus of Carystus (p. 118 Wilamowitz = fr. 37 Dorandi), apparently had a foreboding about how you live and about your hypocritical style, and said that people who misunderstood his remarks and failed to grasp what he meant would be dirty and cheap, like the misguided profligate, insolent characters who belong to Aristippus' sect (*SSR* IV A 161).[89] This is what most of you are like, in fact: shrivelled and filthy not just in your behav-

[89] Aristippus of Cyrene was a student of Socrates, and was routinely portrayed as a hedonist.

κακοπινεῖς οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕξει. βουλόμενοι γὰρ ἐνδύεσθαι τὴν αὐτάρκειαν καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν εὑρίσκεσθε ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς φιλαργυρίας θύραις ῥυπαρῶς ζῶντες καὶ τριβωνάρια περιβαλλόμενοι μικρὰ καὶ ἥλων[15] ἐμπιπλάντες τὰ καττύματα καὶ κιναίδους καλοῦντες τοὺς ἢ μύρου προσβάλλοντας ἢ μικρῷ μαλακωτέραν ἡμφιεσμένους ἐσθῆτα. οὐ δεῖ οὖν οὕτως ἐσταλμένους περὶ ἀργύριον ἐπτοῆσθαι καὶ ἐρω-
f μένους περιάγεσθαι | ξυρουμένους τὴν ὑπήνην καὶ τὸν ὄρρον τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας

ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ μετὰ σοφιστῶν νὴ Δία
λεπτῶν, ἀσίτων, σκυτίνων,

κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιφάνην. ἐπαινῶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ κάλλος· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς εὐανδρίαις τοὺς καλλίστους ἐγκρίνουσι καὶ τούτους πρωτοφορεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσιν. ἐν Ἤλιδι δὲ καὶ κρίσις γίνεται κάλλους, καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ
566 τὰ τῆς || θεοῦ φέρειν τεύχη δίδοται, τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ τὸν βοῦν ἄγειν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος τὰς θυηλὰς ἐπιτίθησιν. Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Λέμβος ἱστορεῖ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Σπάρτην θαυμάζεται μᾶλλον < . . . ἀνὴρ >[16] ὁ κάλλιστος καὶ γυνὴ ἡ καλλίστη, καλλίστας γεννώσης τῆς Σπάρτης τὰς γυναῖκας. διὸ καὶ φασὶν Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασι-

[15] τῶν ἥλων A: τῶν del. Meineke [16] add. Kaibel

[90] Identified at Thphr. *Char.* 4.12 as one of the distinguishing characteristics of a country bumpkin.

[91] Sc. as their pay for teaching.

[92] Quoted also at 3.98f, with a different reading in verse 4.

ior but in your attitude. Because even though you want to wrap yourselves in self-sufficiency and thrift, you can be found at the gates of greed, living a dirty existence, dressed in cheap little robes that are too small for you, with the soles of your shoes full of nails,[90] and calling anyone who puts on perfume or wears clothing a bit more comfortable than yours a pervert. So if you dress like this, you should not get so excited about money[91] or take everywhere with you as your boyfriends the young men with shaved cheeks and rear ends who follow along

> at the Lyceum with a crowd of sophists, by Zeus—
> thin, hungry, leathery characters,

to quote Antiphanes (fr. 120.3–4).[92] I myself speak highly of good looks; because in the contests for manliness they select the best looking individuals and allow them to lead the processions. There is a beauty-contest in Elis, and the winner is awarded the right to carry the goddess' vessels;[93] the second-place finisher is allowed to lead the cow;[94] and the third-place finisher places the sacrificial meat on the altar. Heracleides of Lembos (fr. 2, *FHG* iii.168) reports that in Sparta the most attractive man and the most attractive woman are shown more respect . . . , since Sparta produces the most beautiful women in the world. This is why, they say, when King Archidamus[95] was shown one woman

[93] Or perhaps "armor". For beauty-contests, cf. 13.609e–10a. The goddess in question is presumably Hera.

[94] Sc. to the altar. [95] Archidamus III (reigned 360/59–338 BCE; Poralla #158). Plu. *Ages.* 2.3 (citing Thphr. fr. 604 Fortenbaugh) offers a more intelligible version of the story, claiming that the woman Archidamus chose to marry was not too ugly but too short for the ephors' taste.

λέως, γυναικὸς αὐτῷ καλῆς φαινομένης, ἑτέρας δὲ αἰσχρᾶς καὶ πλουσίας, ὡς ἀπέκλινεν ἐπὶ τὴν πλουσίαν, ζημιῶσαι τοὺς ἐφόρους αὐτόν, ἐπιλέγοντας ὅτι βασιλίσκους ἀντὶ βασιλέων τᾷ Σπάρτᾳ γεννᾶν προ-
b αιρεῖται. Εὐριπίδης τε | ἔφη·

πρῶτον μὲν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος.

καὶ οἱ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ δὲ δημογέροντες θαυμάζοντες τῆς Ἑλένης τὸ κάλλος φασίν·

οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα
πάσχειν·
αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι θεῇς εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν.

c ἐκπέπληκται οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πρίαμος ἐπὶ τῷ | κάλλει[17] καίτοι ἐν δεινοῖς ὑπάρχων. θαυμάζει γοῦν ἐπὶ κάλλει τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τοιαῦτα ἐκφωνῶν·

καλὸν δ' οὔτω ἐγὼν οὔ πω ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,
οὐδ' οὕτω γεραρόν· βασιλῆι δὲ[18] ἀνδρὶ ἔοικεν.

καθίστων δὲ καὶ πολλοὶ τοὺς καλλίστους βασιλέας, ὡς μέχρι νῦν οἱ Ἀθάνατοι καλούμενοι Λιθίοπες, ὥς φησι Βίων ἐν Αἰθιοπικοῖς· ὡς ἔοικε γάρ, τὸ κάλλος

[17] ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει τῆς γυναικὸς ACE: τῆς γυναικὸς del. Kaibel [18] The traditional text of Homer has γὰρ.

96 Identified by Stobaeus (who cites three additional verses) as drawn from *Aeolus*.

who was good-looking, and another who was ugly but rich, and he expressed more interest in the rich one, the ephors fined him, saying when they did so that he was opting to produce kinglets rather than kings for Sparta. Euripides (fr. 15.2)[96] as well said:

> an appearance, first of all, that befits a tyranny.

So too the Homeric elders are astonished at Helen's beauty and say (*Il.* 3.156–8):[97]

> It is no cause for resentment that the Trojans and the well-greaved Achaeans
> suffer griefs for a long time for a woman like this;
> she is remarkably like the immortal goddesses in appearance.

Priam himself, then, was also stunned by beauty, despite the difficult situation he was in. He expresses admiration, for example, for Agamemnon's good looks by offering remarks along the following lines (*Il.* 3.169–70):

> I have never seen anyone so handsome with my eyes, nor so majestic; he looks like a king.

Many people used to make their handsomest citizens kings, as the so-called Immortal Ethiopians do even today, according to Bion in the *History of Ethiopia* (*FGrH* 668 F 2);[98] because beauty is, apparently, a trait closely associ-

[97] Quoted also at 5.188b, but followed there by verse 159, which makes it clear that the speaker (a Trojan) would nonetheless be delighted to see Helen return to Menelaus.

[98] Bion in turn presumably cited Hdt. 3.20.2 for this detail.

βασιλείας οἰκεῖόν ἐστιν. θεαὶ περὶ κάλλους ἤρισαν πρὸς ἀλλήλας, καὶ διὰ κάλλος οἱ θεοὶ ἀνηρείψαντο |
d Διὶ οἰνοχόον τὸν Γανυμήδη·

κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἷο, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι μετείῃ.

αἱ θεαὶ δὲ τίνας ἀναρπάζουσιν; οὐ τοὺς καλλίστους; οἷς καὶ σύνεισιν· Ἠὼς μὲν Κεφάλῳ καὶ Κλείτῳ καὶ Τιθωνῷ, Δημήτηρ Ἰασίωνι, Ἀφροδίτη Ἀγχίσῃ καὶ Ἀδώνιδι. διὰ κάλλος δὲ καὶ ὁ μέγιστος τῶν θεῶν διὰ κεράμων χρυσὸς ἔρχεται, ταῦρος γίνεται, ἀετὸς πτεροῦται πολλάκις, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπ' Αἰγίνῃ. Σωκράτης δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ πάντων καταφρονῶν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου
e κάλλους οὐχ | ἥττων ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ ὁ σεμνότατος Ἀριστοτέλης τοῦ Φασηλίτου μαθητοῦ· ἡμεῖς δ' οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων τὰ κάλλιστα προκρίνομεν; < . . . > ἐπαινοῦντες τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν τὸ ἔθος τὸ γυμνοῦν τὰς παρθένους τοῖς ξένοις. ἐν Χίῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ καὶ βαδίζειν ἥδιστόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τοὺς δρόμους καὶ ὁρᾶν προσπαλαίοντας τοὺς νέους ταῖς κόραις.

[99] A reference to the dispute among Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite that led to the Judgment of Paris and thus the Trojan War.

[100] For Ganymede, see 10.459a n. [101] For Dawn and Cephalus, cf. E. *Hipp.* 454–6; [Apollod.] *Bib.* 3.14.3. For Cleitus, cf. *Od.* 15.250–1. For Tithonus, see 1.6c n.

[102] For Demeter and Iasion, cf. *Od.* 5.125–8; Hes. *Th.* 969–71.

[103] Aphrodite's brief affair with Anchises (the father of the Trojan hero Aeneas) is the subject of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*. For Aphrodite and Adonis, see 2.69b d with 2.69b n.; 13.580e.

ated with kingship. Goddesses quarreled with one another about beauty,[99] and it was because of his beauty that the gods snatched up Ganymede to be Zeus' wine-steward (*Il.* 20.235):[100]

> on account of his beauty, so that he would be among the immortals.

And whom do the goddesses carry off? Is it not the best-looking men? And they sleep with them: Dawn with Cephalus, Cleitus, and Tithonus;[101] Demeter with Iasion;[102] and Aphrodite with Anchises and Adonis.[103] So too, beauty is why the greatest god passes through roof-tiles in the form of gold,[104] and becomes a bull,[105] and repeatedly flies around disguised as an eagle, as for example when he chases after Aegina.[106] And is not the philosopher Socrates, who feels contempt for everyone, overcome by Alcibiades' beauty,[107] just as the august Aristotle is for his student from Phaselis?[108] And do we not also prefer the most beautiful inanimate objects? . . . when they praise the Spartan custom of parading their young women naked in front of foreigners. On the island of Chios it is very pleasant to take a stroll to the schools and the running-tracks, and to see the young men wrestling with the girls.

[104] To get to Danae, who had been locked up inside the royal palace by her father Acrisius, and who became the mother of Perseus. [105] To carry off Europa, who became the mother of Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon. [106] For Zeus' rape of the nymph Aegina (who gave her name to the island and became the mother of Aeacus), cf. Hes. fr. 205; Pi. *I.* 8.16–23.

[107] E.g. Pl. *Smp.* 213c, 219b–c (cited at 5.219b). Alcibiades is *PAA* 121625. [108] I.e. the tragic poet Theodectas (*TrGF* 72; *PAA* 504645); this passage = his T 13.

Καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος,

ταυτὶ καὶ τολμᾷς σὺ λέγειν,

οὐ

ῥοδοδάκτυλος οὖσα,

κατὰ τὸν Κρατῖνον, ἀλλὰ βολίτινον ἔχων θάτερον
f *σκέλος, ἐκείνου τοῦ ὁμωνύμου σοι ποιητοῦ τὴν | κνήμην φορῶν, ὃς ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις καὶ τοῖς πανδοκείοις αἰεὶ διαιτᾶ, καίτοι Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐν τῷ Ἀρεοπαγιτικῷ εἰρηκότος· ἐν καπηλείῳ δὲ φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἂν οἰκέτης ἐτόλμησεν· σεμνύνεσθαι γὰρ ἐμελέτων, οὐ βωμολοχεύεσθαι. Ὑπερείδης δὲ ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Πατροκλέους, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, τοὺς Ἀρεοπαγίτας φησὶν ἀριστήσαντά τινα ἐν καπηλείῳ κωλῦσαι ἀνιέναι εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον. σὺ δέ, ὦ σοφιστά,*
567 *ἐν || τοῖς καπηλείοις συναναφύρῃ οὐ μετὰ ἑταίρων ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἑταιρῶν, μαστροπευούσας περὶ σαυτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἔχων καὶ περιφέρων αἰεὶ τοιαυτὶ βιβλία Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Ἀντιφάνους, ἔτι δὲ Γοργίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, πάντων τούτων*

[109] Cf. Ar. *Ra.* 294–6.

[110] The Old Comic poet Myrtilus (test. 2); the point of the remark is unclear.

[111] Isocrates actually says "a decent slave."

Cynulcus (responded):

Do you dare say this,

despite not

being rosy-fingered,

to quote Cratinus (fr. 351), when you have instead one leg made of cowshit,[109] and your shin is borrowed from the poet with whom you share a name,[110] and you constantly spend your time in bars and inns, even though the orator Isocrates says in his *Areopagitus* (49): Not even a slave[111] would have dared to eat or drink in a bar; because they did their best to appear dignified, rather than behaving like buffoons. Hyperides in his *Against Patroclus* (fr. 138 Jensen)—if the speech is genuine—claims that the members of the Areopagus Council prevented an individual who had lunch in a bar from joining the Areopagus.[112] Whereas you, you sophist, mess around in the bars, and not with your friends (*hetairoi*) but with whores (*hetairai*), surrounding yourself with large numbers of women who make a business of arranging sexual liaisons, and constantly carrying books of this type around with you, by Aristophanes (Ar. Byz. *FGrH* 347 T 1 = fr. 364A Slater), Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244 T 17), Ammonius (*FGrH* 350 T 2), and Antiphanes (*FGrH* 349 T 2), as well as by Gorgias of Athens (*FGrH* 351 T 1), all of whom produced treatises on

112 The Areopagus Council in Athens was made up of men who had served as one of the city's archons, and exercised considerable political power in the time of Hyperides (389–322 BCE). But what kernel of truth (if any) there is in this anecdote is impossible to say.

συγγεγραφότων περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι ἑταιρίδων. ὦ τῆς καλῆς σου πολυμαθίας, ὡς κατ' οὐδὲν ἐμιμήσω Θεόμανδρον τὸν Κυρηναῖον, ὃν φησι Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Εὐδαιμονίας περιιόντα ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι διδάσκειν εὐτυχίαν, ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλε· | οὐδὲν ἄρα διαφέρεις Ἀμάσιος τοῦ Ἠλείου, ὃν Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Ἐρωτικῷ περὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας δεινὸν γεγονέναι λέγει. οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι δέ τίς σε καὶ πορνογράφον καλῶν, ὡς Ἀριστείδην καὶ Παυσίαν ἔτι τε Νικοφάνη τοὺς ζωγράφους. μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς ταῦτα καλῶς γραφόντων Πολέμων ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν Σικυῶνι Πινάκων. ὦ τῆς καλῆς πολυμαθίας, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τῆς τοῦ γραμματικοῦ τοῦδε, ὃς οὐδ' ἐγκαλύπτεται, ἀλλ' ἀναφανδὸν τὰ Εὐβούλου αἰεὶ ἐκ Κερκώπων | λέγει·

Κόρινθον ἦλθον. ἡδέως ἐνταῦθά πως
λάχανόν τι τρώγων Ὤκιμον διεφθάρην·
κἀνταῦθα κατελήρησα τὴν ἐξωμίδα.

καλός γε ὁ τῶν Κορινθίων σοφιστής, ὁ τοῖς μαθηταῖς διηγούμενος ὅτι Ὤκιμον ἑταίρας ὄνομα. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ

113 Cf. 13.583d for a similar, if shorter list of scholars who worked on the topic. A fragment of Aristophanes' treatise is cited at 13.586f, as fragments of the treatises of Apollodorus, Antiphanes, and Gorgias are at 13.586a, 13.587b–c, and 13.596f, respectively. Most likely much of what follows is drawn more or less direct from such sources, although without attribution. Cf. 13.587a n.

114 Otherwise unknown.

115 Otherwise unknown.

the subject of the prostitutes in Athens.[113] What a fine body of knowledge you have developed! And how utterly different you are, you sex-instructor, from Theomandrus of Cyrene,[114] who according to Theophrastus in his *On Happiness* (fr. 489 Fortenbaugh) went around claiming to teach people how to be successful! You are accordingly no different from Amasis of Elis,[115] who Theophrastus in his *Erotica* (fr. 561 Fortenbaugh) says was clever when it came to love-affairs. Nor would it be a mistake to refer to you as a pornographer,[116] like the painters Aristides and Pausias, as well as Nicophanes.[117] Polemon in his *On the Pictures in Sicyon* (fr. 16 Preller) describes them as doing a good job of producing paintings of this sort. What a fine body of knowledge, my friends, this grammarian has developed!—a man who does not conceal what he does, but always openly quotes the passage from Eubulus' *Cercopes* (fr. 53):

> I went to Corinth. Although I had quite a good time
> there
> eating an herb called Ocimon ("Basil"), it disagreed
> with me;
> and I chattered away my tunic there.

What a fine Corinthian sophist,[118] who explains to his students that Ocimon is a courtesan's name! Many other

[116] Literally "someone who produces pictures of whores (*pornai*)". [117] There were two painters named Aristides, and both date to the mid- to late 4th century BCE; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 35.98–100, 108, 110. Pausias of Sicyon dates to the mid-4th century; cf. Paus. 2.27.3; Plin. *Nat.* 35.123–7. Nicophanes is otherwise unknown. [118] Myrtilus is actually from Thebes, but it eventually emerges that he taught at some point in Corinth (13.573b–c), which had a reputation as a center of prostitution.

πολλά, ὦναιδές, δράματα ἀπὸ ἑταιρῶν ἔσχε τὰς ἐπιγραφάς, Θάλαττα Διοκλέους, Φερεκράτους Κοριαννώ, Εὐνίκου ἢ Φιλυλλίου Ἄντεια, Μενάνδρου δὲ Θαΐς καὶ
d Φάνιον, Ἀλέξιδος Ὀπώρα, | Εὐβούλου Κλεψύδρα. οὕτω δ' ἐκλήθη αὕτη ἡ ἑταίρα, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς κλεψύδραν συνουσίαζεν ἕως κενωθῇ, ὡς Ἀσκληπιάδης εἴρηκεν ὁ τοῦ Ἀρείου ἐν τῷ Περὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως συγγράμματι, τὸ κύριον αὐτῆς ὄνομα φάσκων εἶναι Μητίχην.

ἔστιν δ' ἑταίρα,

ὡς Ἀντιφάνης φησὶν ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ,

τῷ τρέφοντι συμφορά·
εὐφραίνεται γὰρ κακὸν ἔχων οἴκοι μέγα.

διόπερ καὶ θρηνῶν τις αὐτὸν παράγεται ὑπὸ Τιμο-
e κλέους | ἐν Νεαίρᾳ·

ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ὁ δυστυχὴς
Φρύνης ἐρασθείς, ἡνίκ' ἔτι τὴν κάππαριν
συνέλεγεν οὔπω τ' εἶχεν ὅσαπερ νῦν ἔχει,

119 Poll. 10.100 (quoting fr. 1) assigns the play, which is otherwise lost, unambiguously to Eunicus. Cf. 13.586e.

120 Thalatta is *PAA* 500234; Corianno is *PAA* 582037; Anteia is *PAA* 131297; Thaïs is *PAA* 500159; Phanion is *PAA* 915485; and Opora is *PAA* 748485. For Clepsydra, see below.

121 Or perhaps "the student of Areius"; nothing else is known of either man.

122 *PAA* 650620.

plays, you shameless creature, also got their titles from courtesans: Diocles' *Thalatta* (test. ii), Pherecrates' *Corianno* (test. ii), the *Anteia* of Eunicus (test. ii) or Philyllius,[119] Menander's *Thaïs* (test. i) and *Phanion* (test. i), Alexis' *Opora* (test. i), and Eubulus' *Clepsydra* (test. i).[120] This is the name they used for this courtesan, because she had sex with a water-clock (*klepsudra*) running, and stopped once it was empty, according to Asclepiades the son of Areius[121] in his treatise *On Demetrius of Phaleron* (*FGrH* 157 F 1 = Dem. Phal. fr. 40 Wehrli = fr. 3 Fortenbaugh–Schütrumpf), where he claims that her given name was Metiche.[122]

A courtesan,

as Antiphanes puts it in *The Rustic* (fr. 2),

> is a disaster for the man who supports her;
> because he's delighted to have terrible trouble in his house.

This is why Timocles in *Neaera* (fr. 25)[123] brings a man onstage bewailing his situation:

> But unlucky me—I
> fell in love with Phryne,[124] when she was still gathering
> capers[125] and didn't own as much property as she does now;

[123] Cited (but not quoted) also at 13.591d.

[124] Presumably Phryne of Thespiae (*PAA* 964975), discussed at 13.590d–2f.

[125] I.e. "living from hand to mouth."

πάμπολλ' ἀναλίσκων ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῆς θύρας
ἀπεκλειόμην.

καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δ' Ὀρεσταυτοκλείδης ‹ὁ› αὐτὸς Τιμοκλῆς φησι·

περὶ δὲ τὸν πανάθλιον
εὕδουσι γρᾶες, Νάννιον, Πλαγγών, Λύκα, |
f Γνάθαινα, Φρύνη, Πυθιονίκη, Μυρρίνη,
Χρυσίς, † Κοναλίς, † Ἱερόκλεια, Λοπάδιον.

τούτων τῶν ἑταιρῶν καὶ Ἄμφις μνημονεύει ἐν Κουρίδι λέγων·

τυφλὸς ὁ Πλοῦτος εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ,
ὅστις γε παρὰ ταύτην μὲν οὐκ εἰσέρχεται, ||
568 παρὰ δὲ Σινώπῃ καὶ Λύκᾳ καὶ Ναννίῳ
ἑτέραις τε τοιαύταισι παγίσι τοῦ βίου
ἔνδον κάθητ' ἀπόπληκτος οὐδ' ἐξέρχεται.

Ἄλεξις δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Ἰσοστάσιον τὴν ἑταιρικὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὰς δι' ἐπιτεχνήσεως κομμώσεις τῶν ἑταιρῶν οὕτως ἐκτίθεται·

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126 Apparently a parody of the beginning of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, with a group of prostitutes taking the place of the band of Furies that surround Orestes there. Whether the Autocleides who appeared in the guise of Orestes (hence the title) was the notorious pederast (*PAA* 238785) mentioned by the orator Aeschines is unclear.

and even though I spent enormous amounts,
whenever I visited, her door
was locked.

And in the play entitled *Orestautocleides* the same Timocles (fr. 27) says:[126]

Old women are sleeping around
the miserable fellow: Nannion, Plangon, Lyca,
Gnathaena, Phryne, Pythionice, Myrrhine,
Chrysis, † Conalis, † Hierocleia, Lopadion.[127]

Amphis in *The Female Barber* (fr. 23) also mentions these courtesans, saying:

As far as I can tell, Wealth's blind,
given that he never visits her,
but sits paralyzed inside the house with Sinope,
Lyca, Nannion,[128] and other women like them,
who are just out to capture a man's money, and never
leaves.

Alexis in his play entitled *Isostasion* (fr. 103) offers the following description of how courtesans are prepared for the business, and of how they are made artificially more beautiful:

[127] Nannion is *PAA* 700568; Plangon is *PAA* 774620; Lyca is *PAA* 610040; Gnathaena is *PAA* 278790; Phryne is presumably Phryne of Thespiae (*PAA* 964975); Pythionice is *PAA* 793690; Myrrhine is *PAA* 662210; Chrysis is *PAA* 994150; Conalis is *PAA* 581440; Hierocleia is *PAA* 531792; and Lopadion is *PAA* 608745.

[128] Sinope is *PAA* 823225; Lyca is *PAA* 610040; and Nannion is *PAA* 700568.

πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κέρδος καὶ τὸ συλᾶν
τοὺς πέλας
πάντα τἄλλ' αὐταῖς πάρεργα γίγνεται, ῥάπτουσι
δὲ
πᾶσιν ἐπιβουλάς. ἐπειδὰν δ' εὐπορήσωσίν ποτε,
ἀνέλαβον καινὰς ἑταίρας, πρωτοπείρους τῆς
τέχνης·
εὐθὺς ἀναπλάττουσι ταύτας, ὥστε μήτε τοὺς
τρόπους
μήτε τὰς ὄψεις ὁμοίας διατελεῖν οὔσας ἔτι. |
b τυγχάνει μικρά τις οὖσα· φελλὸς ἐν ταῖς
βαυκίσιν
ἐγκεκάττυται. μακρά τις· διάβαθρον λεπτὸν
φορεῖ
τήν τε κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον καταβαλοῦσ'
ἐξέρχεται·
τοῦτο τοῦ μήκους ἀφεῖλεν. οὐκ ἔχει τις ἰσχία·
ὑπενέδυσ' ἐρραμέν' αὐτήν, ὥστε τὴν εὐπυγίαν
ἀναβοᾶν τοὺς εἰσιδόντας. κοιλίαν ἁδρὰν ἔχει·
στηθί' ἔστ' αὐταῖσι τούτων ὧν ἔχουσ' οἱ
κωμικοί·
ὀρθὰ προσθεῖσαι τοιαῦτα τοὔνδυτον τῆς κοιλίας |
c ὥσπερεὶ κοντοῖσι τούτοις εἰς τὸ πρόσθ'
ἀπήγαγον.
τὰς ὀφρῦς πυρρὰς ἔχει τις· ζωγραφοῦσιν
ἀσβόλῳ.
συμβέβηκ' εἶναι μέλαιναι· κατέπλαστει ψιμυθίῳ.
λευκόχρως λίαν τις ἐστίν· παιδέρωτ' ἐντρίβεται.

Everything else, first of all, is less important to them
than making a profit
and plundering the people they associate with, and
they stitch together
plots against everyone. And whenever they get rich,
they take new courtesans, novices at the craft, into
their houses.
They immediately reshape them, so they don't act
or look the same any more.
A girl happens to be short; cork's attached
to the soles of her shoes. She's tall; she wears a thin-
soled shoe
and rests her head on her shoulder when she goes
outside,
reducing her height. She's got no ass;
her mistress discreetly puts a pad on her, so that
people who see her
comment loudly on what a fine rear end she has.
She's got a big belly;
they have some of the comic actors' chest-pieces,[129]
and by attaching them at a right angle, they use them
like poles to separate her clothing from her belly.
A girl's got blond eyebrows; they draw them in with
soot.
Her skin happens to be dark; her mistress covers her
with white lead.
Another one's skin's too white; she rubs rouge on
herself.

[129] I.e. "falsies", used by male actors playing female parts.

καλὸν ἔχει τοῦ σώματός τι· τοῦτο γυμνὸν
δείκνυται.
εὐφυεῖς ὀδόντας ἔσχεν· ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ γελᾶν, |
d ἵνα † θεωροῖεν[19] † οἱ παρόντες τὸ στόμ' ὡς
κομψὸν φορεῖ.
ἂν δὲ μὴ χαίρῃ γελῶσα, διατελεῖ τὴν ἡμέραν
ἔνδον, ὥσπερ τοῖς μαγείροις ἃ παράκειθ'
ἑκάστοτε,
ἡνίκ' ἂν πωλῶσιν αἰγῶν κρανία, ξυλήφιον
μυρρίνης † ἔχουσι[20] † λεπτὸν ὀρθὸν ἐν τοῖς
χείλεσιν·
ὥστε τῷ χρόνῳ σέσηρεν, ἄν τε βούλητ' ἄν τε
μή.
ὄψεις διὰ τούτων σκευοποιοῦσι τῶν τεχνῶν.[21]

διὸ συμβουλεύω σοι,

Θετταλὲ ποικιλόδιφρε,

τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ καταναλίσκειν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον τὰ τῶν υἱῶν κέρματα. ὄντως
e γὰρ ἄριστα | χωλὸς οἰφεῖς, τοῦ κρηπιδοποιοῦ πατρός σου πολλά σε σωφρονίσαντος καὶ διδάξαντος σκύτη βλέπειν. ἢ οὐκ οἶδας κατὰ τὴν Εὐβούλου Παννυχίδα

[19] θεωρῶσ' Clement (rightly)
[20] ἔξουσα Clement (rightly)
[21] This verse (not mentioned by Kassel–Austin) is apparently spurious, but Athenaeus may well have found it in his source.

She's got an attractive feature; it's put on display
naked.
She's got nice teeth; she has to laugh, whether she
wants to or not,
so everyone there † can see † what a pretty mouth
she has.
And if she doesn't like laughing, she'll stay inside
all day with a sliver of myrtle wood, like what the
butchers always have
when they sell goats' heads, † they have † stuck
upright between her lips.
So eventually she grins, like it or not.
These are the tricks they use to change how they
look.

I therefore advise you, my

elaborately decorated Thessalian chariot-board,[130]

to introduce yourself to the brothel-girls and not waste your sons' limited inheritance on something you do not need. Because you are, beyond a doubt, "the lame man who rides best,"[131] since your father the shoemaker tried to straighten you out repeatedly and taught you to "look leather."[132] Or are you unfamiliar, to quote Eubulus' *All-Night Festival* (fr. 82), with

[130] Identified by Poll. 7.112 as a fragment of an otherwise unknown Delphic oracle; cf. 15.677a; Fontenrose on Delphic Oracle Q151. [131] Identified by Diogen. 2.2 as a proverb, in which "ride" is to be understood "have sex". [132] Identified by Zenob. 6.2 as a proverbial expression meaning "to have a suspicious attitude toward impending troubles," i.e. "to look like you're expecting to be whipped"; cf. Ar. *V.* 643; Eup. fr. 304.

< . . . > τὰς φιλῳδοὺς κερμάτων παλευτρίας
< . . . > πώλους Κύπριδος ἐξησκημένας,
γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ κέρως τεταγμένας,
ἐν λεπτοπήνοις ὑμέσιν ἑστώσας, οἵας
Ἠριδανὸς ἀγνοῖς ὕδασι κηπεύει κόρας·
παρ᾽ ὧν βεβαίως ἀσφαλῶς τ᾽ ἔξεστί σοι |
f μικροῦ πρίασθαι κέρματος τὴν ἡδονήν.

καὶ ἐν Ναννίῳ, <εἰ> Εὐβούλου τὸ δρᾶμα καὶ μὴ Φιλίππου, φησίν·

ὅστις λέχη γὰρ σκότια νυμφεύει λάθρᾳ,
πῶς οὐχὶ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀθλιώτατος;
ἐξὸν θεωρήσαντι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον
γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ κέρως τεταγμένας,
ἐν λεπτοπήνοις ὑμέσιν ἑστώσας, οἵας
Ἠριδανὸς ἀγνοῖς ὕδασι κηπεύει κόρας,
μικροῦ πρίασθαι κέρματος τὴν ἡδονήν, ||
569 καὶ μὴ λαθραίαν Κύπριν, αἰσχίστην νόσων
πασῶν, διώκειν, ὕβρεος οὐ πόθου χάριν.
Ἑλλάδος ἔγωγε τῆς ταλαιπώρου στένω,
ἣ Κυδίαν ναύαρχον ἐξεπέμψατο.

ἐπιτιμᾷ δὲ καὶ Ξέναρχος ἐν Πεντάθλῳ τοῖς παρα-

133 Aphrodite's.

134 A mythical river (sometimes identified with the Po), beside which the Heliades wept tears of amber for their brother Phaethon.

the song-loving decoy-birds who lure in money,
Cypris'[133] well-trained fillies,
lined up one after another in a column, half-naked,
standing there in fine, sheer fabric, the type
of girls the sacred waters of the Eridanus[134] make
grow.
You can purchase your pleasure from them
safely and securely, for a little small change.

He also says in *Nannion* (if the play is by Eubulus [fr. 67] rather than Philippus):

Because isn't anyone who indulges in secret, shadowy
sexual adventures
the most miserable person in the world?
Since you can look in broad daylight at them
lined up one after another in a column, half-naked,
standing there in fine, sheer fabric, the type
of girls the sacred waters of the Eridanus make grow,
and purchase your pleasure for a little small change,
rather than pursuing clandestine sex, the most
embarrassing
disease there is, more to insult someone than out of
lust.
I, at any rate, mourn for miserable Greece,[135]
which sent Cydias out as a naval commander.[136]

Xenarchus in *The Pentathlete* (fr. 4) criticizes people who

[135] Adapted from E. *IA* 370.

[136] Nothing else is known of Cydias (*PAA* 588217) or the expedition he led.

πλησίως σοι βιοῦσιν καὶ ἐσπουδακόσι περὶ τὰς μεγαλομίσθους ἑταίρας καὶ τὰς ἐλευθέρας τῶν γυναικῶν ταυτὶ λέγων·

δεινά, δεινὰ κοὐκ ἀνασχετὰ
ἐν τῇ πόλει πράττουσιν οἱ νεώτεροι. |
b ὅπου γὰρ οὐσῶν μειράκων μάλ' εὐπρεπῶν
ἐπὶ τοῖσι πορνείοισιν, ἃς ἔξεσθ' ὁρᾶν
εἰληθερούσας, στέρν' ἀπημφιεσμένας,
γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς τ' ἐπὶ κέρως τεταγμένας·
ὧν ἔστιν ἐκλεξάμενον ᾗ τις ἥδεται,
λεπτῇ, παχείᾳ, στρογγύλῃ, μακρᾷ, ῥικνῇ,
νέᾳ, παλαιᾷ, μεσοκόπῳ, πεπαιτέρᾳ,
μὴ κλίμακα στησάμενον εἰσβῆναι λάθρᾳ
μηδὲ δι' ὀπῆς κάτωθεν εἰσδῦναι στέγης |
c μηδ' ἐν ἀχύροισιν εἰσενεχθῆναι τέχνῃ.
αὐταὶ βιάζονται γὰρ εἰσέλκουσί τε
τοὺς μὲν γέροντας ὄντας ἐπικαλούμεναι
πατρίδια, τοὺς δ' ἀπφάρια, τοὺς νεωτέρους.
καὶ τῶνδ' ἑκάστην ἔστιν ἁδεῶς, εὐτελῶς,
μεθ' ἡμέραν, πρὸς ἑσπέραν, πάντας τρόπους·
ἃς δ' οὔτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστ', οὔθ' ὁρῶντ' ἰδεῖν σαφῶς,
αἰεὶ δὲ τετραμαίνοντα καὶ φοβούμενον
δεδιότα, ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα[22]

* * *

[22] Most likely a spurious verse (but known to Athenaeus).

live like you and are interested in extremely high-priced prostitutes and free women, saying the following:

The young men are behaving terribly,
terribly—unbearably—in our city!
Because (they live in a place) where there are very
attractive girls
in the brothels, girls you can see
basking in the sun with their breasts bare,
lined up one after another in a column, half-naked.
A man can pick whichever one he likes—
thin, fat, round, tall, withered up,
young, old, middle-aged, ancient—
without setting up a ladder and entering the house
secretly,
or getting in through a peep-hole beneath the roof,
or being carried in sneakily in a heap of bran.
Because they're the aggressors, and they drag
customers in,
calling the old men
"daddykins" and the younger ones "sweet brother".
And you can (have sex with) any of them without fear,
and cheaply,
during the day, in the evening, however you want.
Whereas the women you can't see, and can't see
clearly when you *do* see them,
but always trembling and frightened
fearful, having your life in your hand[137]

* * *

137 Casaubon (followed by Meineke) expelled this verse from the text of Xenarchus, on the ground that this is a Hebrew rather than a Greek idiom. But Athenaeus apparently knew the text in the form in which it appears here in any case.

ἂς πῶς ποτ', ὦ δέσποινα ποντία Κύπρι, |
d βινεῖν δύνανται, τῶν Δρακοντείων νόμων
ὁπόταν ἀναμνησθῶσι προσκινούμενοι;

καὶ Φιλήμων δὲ ἐν Ἀδελφοῖς προσιστορῶν ὅτι πρῶτος Σόλων διὰ τὴν τῶν νέων ἀκμὴν ἔστησεν ἐπὶ οἰκημάτων γύναια πριάμενος, καθὰ καὶ Νίκανδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τρίτῳ Κολοφωνιακῶν φάσκων αὐτὸν καὶ Πανδήμου Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν πρῶτον ἱδρύσασθαι ἀφ' ὧν ἠργυρίσαντο αἱ προστᾶσαι τῶν οἰκημάτων. ἀλλ' ὅ γε Φιλήμων οὕτως φησί· |

e σὺ δ' εἰς ἅπαντας εὗρες ἀνθρώπους, Σόλων·
σὲ γὰρ λέγουσιν τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν πρῶτον, μόνον
δημοτικόν, ὦ Ζεῦ, πρᾶγμα καὶ σωτήριον
(καί μοι λέγειν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἁρμοστόν, Σόλων),
μεστὴν ὁρῶντα τὴν πόλιν νεωτέρων
τούτους τ' ἔχοντας τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φύσιν
ἁμαρτάνοντάς τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ προσῆκον ἦν,
στῆσαι πριάμενόν τοι γυναῖκας κατὰ τόπους
κοινὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατεσκευασμένας.
ἑστᾶσι γυμναί, μὴ 'ξαπατηθῇς· πάνθ' ὅρα. |

138 Borrowed from Phaedra's speech at E. *Hipp.* 415.

139 Draco (*PAA* 374190; late 7th century BCE) was Athens' first lawgiver; his law on adultery specified that no one was to be punished for taking revenge on a seducer of women (Paus. 9.36.8).

140 Solon (*PAA* 827640; eponymous archon in 594/3 BCE) was remembered as Athens' greatest lawgiver and sage, and as something approaching the founding father of the classical city.

How in the world, Cypris, mistress of the sea,[138]
can they fuck them, when they recall
Draco's laws[139] as they're moving in time with their
partners?

Philemon as well in *Brothers* (fr. 3, quoted below) describes, among other things, how Solon,[140] motivated by the energy of the young men, was the first person to buy women and put them in brothels; Nicander of Colophon offers similar information in Book III of the *History of Colophon* (*FGrH* 271 F 9), saying that Solon established the first temple of Aphrodite Pandêmos[141] by using the money brought in by the women who worked in[142] the brothels. But Philemon (fr. 3) puts it as follows:

You invented something everyone appreciates, Solon!
Because they say you were the first person to see this,
something
uniquely good for average people and salutary, by
Zeus—
and I'm the right person to be saying this, Solon—
when you saw that the city was full of young men,
who had urges that couldn't be controlled
and were making the wrong kind of mistakes;
and you bought women, set them up in various
places,
and got them ready and gave everyone access to
them.
They stand there naked, so you can't be fooled. Look
at everything!

141 "Belonging to All the People" *vel sim.*
142 Literally "who stood in front of."

f οὐκ εὖ σεαυτοῦ τυγχάνεις ἔχων, ἔχεις
< . . . > † πῶς † ἡ θύρα 'στ' ἀνεῳγμένη.
εἷς ὀβολός· εἰσπήδησον. οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ εἷς
ἀκκισμός, οὐδὲ λῆρος, οὐδ' ὑφήρπασεν,
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἦν βούλει σὺ χὢν βούλει τρόπον.
ἐξῆλθες· οἰμώζειν λέγ', ἀλλοτρία 'στί σοι.

καὶ Ἀσπασία δὲ ἡ Σωκρατικὴ ἐνεπορεύετο πλήθη καλῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν ἀπὸ τῶν ταύτης ἑταιρίδων ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὡς καὶ ὁ χαρίεις Ἀριστοφάνης ||
570 παρασημαίνεται, λέγων τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον ὅτι Περικλῆς διὰ τὸν Ἀσπασίας ἔρωτα καὶ τὰς ἁρπασθείσας ἀπ' αὐτῆς θεραπαίνας ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων ἀνερρίπισεν τὸ δεινόν·

πόρνην δὲ Σιμαίθαν ἰόντες Μεγαράδε
νεανίαι κλέπτουσι μεθυσοκόταβοι.
κᾆθ' οἱ Μεγαρῆς ὀδύναις πεφυσιγγωμένοι
ἀντεξέκλεψαν Ἀσπασίας πόρνας[23] δύο·
κἀκεῖθεν[24] ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου κατερράγη |
b Ἕλλησι πᾶσιν ἐκ τριῶν λαικαστριῶν.

[23] Better πόρνα (dual), although Athenaeus' plural is also attested in the Ravennas manuscript of Aristophanes.

[24] All other witnesses have κἀντεῦθεν.

[143] For Aspasia of Miletus (*PAA* 222330; the companion of the Athenian politician Pericles) and Socrates, cf. 5.219b–c.

[144] An echo of Ar. *Pax* 608–9 (not to be taken seriously as evidence for the origin of the war).

Maybe you're feeling out of sorts; you're
. . . † how † The door's open!
(It costs) one obol! Hop on in! There's no
acting shocked, no chit-chat; she doesn't pull away.
Instead, you immediately get the girl you want,
however you want her.
You leave—tell her to go to hell! She's somebody
else's problem.

Socrates' friend Aspasia[143] also imported large numbers of good-looking women, and prostitutes who belonged to her filled Greece, as the witty Aristophanes observes in passing, when he says regarding the Peloponnesian War that Pericles brought the trouble into full flame[144] because of his love for Aspasia and because of the servant-girls the Megarians kidnapped from her (*Ach.* 524–9):

Some young men who'd gotten drunk playing
cottabus[145]
went to Megara and abducted a whore named
Simaetha.
After that the Megarians, who were upset and
looking for a fight,
responded by abducting two whores who belonged to
Aspasia.
That's the origin of the war that broke out
and involved all the Greeks: three professional dick-
lickers![146]

[145] For the symposium game cottabus, see 15.665d–8f.

[146] Deliberately ambiguous: the "three dick-lickers" might be Simaetha and Aspasia's two anonymous whores, or they might be Simaetha, Aspasia, and Pericles.

τῶν οὖν μεγαλομίσθων ἑταιρῶν ἀποτρέπω σε, γραμματικώτατε, διότι

τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἔστιν αὐλούσας ἰδεῖν
αὐλητρίδας πάσας Ἀπόλλωνος νόμον,
< . . . > Διὸς νόμον·
αὗται δὲ μόνον αὐλοῦσιν Ἱέρακος νόμον,

Ἐπικράτης φησὶν ἐν Ἀντιλαΐδι, ἐν ᾧ δράματι καὶ περὶ τῆς πολυθρυλήτου Λαΐδος τάδε λέγει·

αὐτὴ δὲ Λαῒς ἀργός ἐστι καὶ πότις,
τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ὀρῶσα πίνειν κἀσθίειν
μόνον· πεπονθέναι δὲ ταὐτά μοι δοκεῖ |
c *τοῖς ἀετοῖς. οὗτοι γὰρ ὅταν ὦσιν νέοι*
ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν πρόβατ' ἐσθίουσι καὶ λαγὼς
μετέωρ' ἀναρπάζοντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἰσχύος·
ὅταν δὲ γηράσκωσιν ἤδη, τότε < . . . >
ἐπὶ τοὺς νεὼς ἵζουσι πεινῶντες κακῶς·
κἄπειτα τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίζεται τέρας.
καὶ Λαῒς ὀρθῶς <νῦν> νομίζοιτ' ἂν τέρας.
αὕτη γὰρ οὖν ὁπότ' ἦν νεοττὸς καὶ νέα,
ὑπὸ τῶν στατήρων ἦν ἀπηγριωμένη,
εἶδες δ' ἂν αὐτῆς Φαρνάβαζον θᾶττον ἄν. |
d *ἐπεὶ δὲ δόλιχον τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἤδη τρέχει*
τὰς ἁρμονίας τε διαχαλᾷ τοῦ σώματος,

147 Literally "the hawk's."

148 A Persian satrap in Asia Minor from the late 410s BCE until around 390, when he returned to Susa and married one of the Great King's daughters; he appears to have died around 370.

I therefore advise you, my distinguished grammarian, to stay away from high-priced prostitutes, since

> You can see all the other
> pipe-girls playing Apollo's tune,
> . . . (or) Zeus' tune.
> But the only thing *these* women play is the
> predator's[147] tune,

as Epicrates says in *Antilaïs* (fr. 2). He also says the following in the same play about the notorious Laïs (fr. 3):

> Laïs herself's a lazy drunk,
> who's only interested in eating and drinking
> every day. I think she's in the same situation
> as eagles. When they're young, they
> eat sheep and goats and hares they catch in the
> mountains,
> snatching them up into the air, they're so strong.
> But when they eventually grow old, at that point
> they perch on top of the temples, ravenously hungry;
> and then this is considered a marvel.
> Laïs as well would be properly considered a marvel
> nowadays;
> because when she was a young nestling,
> she was driven wild by the largest coins,
> and you would've got an audience with
> Pharnabazus[148] sooner than with her.
> But now that she's running the long-distance race in
> years
> and is losing her figure,

ἰδεῖν μὲν αὐτὴν ῥᾷόν ἐστιν ἢ πτύσαι·
ἐξέρχεταί τε πανταχόσ' ἤδη πιομένη,
δέχεται δὲ καὶ στατῆρα καὶ τριώβολον,
προσίεται δὲ καὶ γέροντα καὶ νέον·
οὕτω δὲ τιθασὸς γέγονεν ὥστ', ὦ φίλτατε,
ταργύριον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἤδη λαμβάνει.

μνημονεύει δὲ τῆς Λαΐδος καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Γεροντομανίᾳ καὶ ἄλλας ἑταίρας αὐτῇ συγκαταλέγει |
e διὰ τούτων·

(Α.) τὴν ἐκ Κορίνθου Λαΐδ' οἶσθα; (Β.) πῶς γὰρ οὔ;
τὴν ἡμετέρειον. (Α.) ἦν ἐκείνη τις φίλη
Ἄντεια. (Β.) καὶ τοῦθ' ἡμέτερον ἦν παίγνιον.
(Α.) νὴ τὸν Δί' ἤνθει τότε Λαγίσκη † ἦν δὲ τότε
καὶ Θεολύτη μάλ' εὐπρόσωπος καὶ καλή,
ὑπέφαιν' ἐσομένη δ' Ὤκιμον λαμπρὰ πάνυ.

ταῦτά σοι παραινεῖν ἔχω, ἑταῖρε Μυρτίλε. καὶ κατὰ τὴν Φιλεταίρου Κυνηγίδα, |

f παῦσαι γέρων ὢν τοὺς τρόπους. οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι
οὐκ ἐστιν ἥδιστον[25] ἀποθανεῖν βινοῦνθ' ἅμα,
ὥσπερ λέγουσιν ἀποθανεῖν Φορμίσιον;

[25] Thus Athenaeus. But as Toup (followed by Kassel–Austin) saw, Philetaerus presumably wrote ἥδιστόν ἐστιν (del. οὐκ).

[149] *PAA* 131297.

[150] *PAA* 600533. [151] *PAA* 508540.

[152] Phormisius (*PAA* 962695) was an important Athenian poli-

seeing her's easier than spitting.
She goes out everywhere to drink now,
and accepts the largest coin or the smallest one;
and she has sex with anyone of any age.
She's grown so tame, my dear friend, that
she now takes money from a man's hand.

Anaxandrides also mentions Laïs in *The Madness of Old Men* (fr. 9), including her in a list along with other courtesans in the following passage:

(A.) Do you know Laïs from Corinth? (B.) Of course—
that's where we're from. (A.) She had a friend named Anteia.[149] (B.) We also played around with her.
(A.) By Zeus, Lagisce[150] was young and beautiful then, and Theolyte[151]
† was really pretty and attractive then;
and Ocimon looked like she was going to be absolutely gorgeous.

This is my advice for you, my friend Myrtilus. To quote Philetaerus' *The Huntress* (fr. 6):

You're an old man—stop acting like this! Don't you realize
that the nicest way to die is *not* while you're fucking—
which is how they say Phormisius[152] died?

tician in the first quarter of the 4th century BCE; cf. 6.229f. The "*not*" has been inserted (against the meter) in the second verse by Cynulcus (cf. 13.571b with n.), reversing the original sense of the passage, for which cf. Philetaer. frr. 7 (quoted at 7.280c–d); 9.4 (quoted at 13.587e).

ἢ ἥδιστόν ἐστί σοι, ὡς ἐν Μαραθωνίοις φησὶ Τιμοκλῆς,

ὅσον τὸ μεταξὺ μετὰ κορίσκης ἢ μετὰ
χαμαιτύπης τὴν νύκτα κοιμᾶσθαι. βαβαί,
ἡ στιφρότης, τὸ χρῶμα, πνεῦμα, δαίμονες.
τὸ μὴ σφόδρ' εἶναι πάνθ' ἕτοιμα, δεῖν δέ τι ||
571 ἀγωνιᾶσαι καὶ ῥαπισθῆναί τε καὶ
πληγὰς λαβεῖν ἁπαλαῖσι χερσίν· ἡδύ γε
νὴ τὸν Δία τὸν μέγιστον.

Ἔτι πολλὰ τοῦ Κυνούλκου θέλοντος λέγειν καὶ τοὐλπιανοῦ ἐπιραπίσαι βουληθέντος αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Μυρτίλου, φθάσας ὁ Μυρτίλος (διήχθρευεν γὰρ τῷ Σύρῳ) ἔφη·

οὐχ ὧδ' ἐμόγησαν
ἐλπίδες ὥστ' ἐχθρῶν συμμαχίην καλέσαι,

φησὶν ὁ Καλλίμαχος. οὐ γὰρ αὐτάρκεις ἡμεῖς ἀμύνασθαι, ὦ Κύνουλκε;

ὡς σκαιὸς εἶ κἄγροικος αἰσχροεπῶν < . . . >
b ἐπαρίστερ' ἐν τῷ | στόματι τὴν γλῶσσαν φορεῖς,

κατὰ τὴν Ἐφίππου Φιλύραν. δοκεῖς γάρ μοι ἐκείνων εἷς εἶναι

οὓς ἐδίδαξαν ἀριστερὰ γράμματα Μοῦσαι,

153 Ulpian. 154 Literally "left-handed", as again in the adespota parodic fragment below.

Or is what you like best, as Timocles puts it in *Men from Marathon* (fr. 24):

> What an enormous difference between spending the night
> with a free girl and with a prostitute! Damn!
> The firmness of her flesh! Her color, and the smell of her breath! Ye gods!
> The fact that everything's not too ready for you, and you have
> to wrestle a little, and get slapped and
> punched by her soft hands. That's nice,
> by Zeus the greatest!

Although Cynulcus still had a great deal he wanted to say, and Ulpian was eager to attack him in defense of Myrtilus, Myrtilus—who despised the Syrian[153]—began speaking first:

> My situation is not so desperate that I have to call on enemies for assistance,

as Callimachus (fr. 477 Pfeiffer) says. Do you consider me incapable of defending myself, Cynulcus?

> What a clumsy, unsophisticated foul-mouth you are!
> The tongue in your mouth gets everything backward,[154]

to quote Ephippus' *Philyra* (fr. 23). You appear to me to be one of those people

> whom the Muses taught to write backward,

ὥς τις ἔφη τῶν παρῳδῶν. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες σύσσιτοι, οὐ κατὰ τὰς Μεταγένους Λύρας ἢ τὸν Ἀριστα-
γόρου Μαμμάκυθον

ὑμῖν ὀρχηστρίδας εἶπον ἑταίρας
ὡραίας πρότερον, νῦν δ' οὐχ[26] ὑμῖν ἀγορεύω
ἄρτι χνοαζούσας αὐλητρίδας, αἵ τε τάχιστα
ἀνδρῶν φορτηγῶν ὑπὸ γούνατα μισθοῦ ἔλυσαν. |

c ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ὄντως ἑταιρῶν τὸν λόγον πεποίημαι, τουτέστιν τῶν φιλίαν ἄδολον συντηρεῖν δυναμένων, ἃς ὁ Κύνουλκος τολμᾷ λοιδορεῖν, ‹τὰς›[27] μόνας τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν τῷ τῆς φιλίας ὀνόματι προσηγορευμένας ἀπὸ[28] τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καλουμένης Ἑταίρας τῆς Ἀφροδίτης. περὶ ἧς φησιν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Θεῶν οὕτως· Ἑταίραν δὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὴν τοὺς ἑταίρους καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας συνάγουσαν· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν φίλας. καλοῦσι γοῦν καὶ
d αἱ ἐλεύθεραι γυναῖκες | ἔτι καὶ νῦν καὶ αἱ παρθένοι τὰς συνήθεις καὶ φίλας ἑταίρας, ὡς ἡ Σαπφώ·

τάδε νῦν ἑταίραις
ταῖς ἔμαις † τέρπνα † κάλως ἀείσω.

[26] νῦν δ' οὐχ A: νῦν δ' αὖθ' Bergk
[27] add. Kaibel
[28] ἢ ἀπὸ A: ἢ del. Kaibel

[155] Athenaeus cites the play as Metagenes' *The Bonehead* or *Breezes* at 8.355a, and as Metagenes' *Breezes* at 9.385b. Lexico

as one of the parodists (adesp. parod. fr. 6 Olson–Sens) put it. Because I, my fellow banqueters, did not, to quote Metagenes' *Breezes* (fr. 4) or Aristagoras' *The Bonehead*,[155]

> discuss pretty young dancing-girl prostitutes
> with you previously. Nor[156] do I now I proclaim to
> you
> pipe-girls just getting a bit of pussy-hair, who quickly
> weaken the knees of merchant-sailors—for a price.

What I have described are instead actual courtesans, which is to say, women capable of maintaining a friendship not based on trickery, but whom Cynulcus dares to insult, even though they are the only women addressed as "friendly," a name they get from the Aphrodite known in Athens as Hetaira ("the Courtesan").[157] Apollodorus of Athens in his *On the Gods* (*FGrH* 244 F 112) says the following about her: Aphrodite Hetaira, who brings together male and female companions (*hetairai*), that is to say female friends (*philai*). Even today, at any rate, free women and girls refer to their friends and associates as *hetairai*, for example Sappho (fr. 160):

> I will now sing these
> † pleasant † songs beautifully for my *etairai*.

graphical sources cite several words from Aristagoras' *The Bonehead* (Aristag. frr. 1–2; 5), but nothing else is known of him, and Meineke argued that his play must have been a revised version of Metagenes'.

[156] The negative has once again (cf. 13.570f) been added to the text by Cynulcus.

[157] Cf. 13.559a.

καὶ ἔτι·

Λάτω καὶ Νιόβα μάλα μὲν φίλαι ἦσαν ἔταιραι.

καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς μισθαρνούσας ἑταίρας καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ συνουσίαις μισθαρνεῖν ἑταιρεῖν, οὐκ ἔτι πρὸς τὸ ἔτυμον ἀναφέροντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ εὐσχημονέστερον, καθὸ δὴ καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Παρακαταθήκῃ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑταιρῶν τοὺς ἑταίρους διαστέλλων φησί· |

e πεποιήκατ᾽ ἔργον οὐχ ἑταίρων γὰρ < . . . >
< . . . >· ταὐτὰ δ᾽ ὄντα γράμματα
τὴν προσαγόρευσιν οὐ σφόδρ᾽ εὔσχημον ποεῖ.

περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑταιρῶν Ἔφιππος ἐν Ἐμπολῇ τάδε φησίν·

ἔπειτά γ᾽ εἰσιόντ᾽, ἐὰν λυπούμενος
τύχῃ τις ἡμῶν, ἐκολάκευσεν ἡδέως·
ἐφίλησεν οὐχὶ συμπιέσασα τὸ στόμα
ὥσπερ πολέμιον, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι στρουθίοις |
f χανοῦσ᾽ ὁμοίως † ἥ σε † παρεμυθήσατο
ἐπόησέ θ᾽ ἱλαρὸν εὐθέως τ᾽ ἀφεῖλε πᾶν
αὐτοῦ τὸ λυποῦν κἀπέδειξεν ἵλεων.

Εὔβουλος δ᾽ ἐν Καμπυλίωνι κοσμίαν ἑταίραν παράγων φησίν·

ὡς δ᾽ ἐδείπνει κοσμίως,

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158 Quoted also at 8.363c.

Furthermore (Sapph. fr. 142):

> Lato and Nioba were very close *etairai*.

They also refer to women who work for pay as *hetairai*, and to being paid for sex as *hetairein* ("to be a *hetaira*, a courtesan"), no longer giving the word its true sense, but using it as a euphemism. Thus Menander in *The Deposit* (fr. 287) distinguishes male companions (*hetairoi*) from courtesans (*hetairai*), saying:

> Because you've done something *hetairoi* don't . . .
> . . . ; the fact that the words are spelled the same
> doesn't make the term particularly attractive.

Ephippus in *Merchandise* (fr. 6)[158] says the following about courtesans:

> Then, if one of us happens to be unhappy
> when he goes into her house, she's sweet and
> flattering.
> She doesn't kiss him with her lips squeezed together,
> as if he was an enemy; instead, she opens her mouth
> wide
> just like baby swallows do † she who you † and coaxes
> him and
> makes him cheerful (*hilaros*), and in a flash she
> makes whatever's
> upsetting him disappear, and puts him in a good
> mood (*hileôs*).

Eubulus in *Campylion* (fr. 41) introduces a courtesan who has nice manners, and says:

> What nice manners she had at dinner—

οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄλλαι τῶν πράσων ποιούμεναι
τολύπας ἔσαττον τὰς γνάθους καὶ τῶν κρεῶν ||
572 ἀπέβρυκον αἰσχρῶς, ἀλλ' ἑκάστου μικρὸν ἂν
ἀπεγεύεθ' ὥσπερ παρθένος Μιλησία.

Ἀντιφάνης Ὑδρίᾳ·

οὗτος δ' ὃν λέγω
ἐν γειτόνων αὐτῷ κατοικούσης τινὸς
ἰδὼν ἑταίρας εἰς ἔρωτ' ἀφίκετο,
ἀστῆς, ἐρήμου δ' ἐπιτρόπου καὶ συγγενῶν,
ἤθός τι χρυσοῦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν κεκτημένης,
ὄντως ἑταίρας· αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι τοὔνομα
βλάπτουσι τοῖς τρόποις γὰρ ὄντως ὂν καλόν. |

b Ἀναξίλας Νεοττίδι·

(Α.) ἐὰν δέ τις μέτρια † καὶ λέγουσα
τοῖς δεομένοις τινῶν ὑπουργῇ πρὸς χάριν,
ἐκ τῆς ἑταιρείας ἑταίρα τοὔνομα
προσηγορεύθη. καὶ σὺ νῦν οὐχ ὡς λέγεις
πόρνης, ἑταίρας δ' εἰς ἔρωτα τυγχάνεις
ἐληλυθὼς ἆρ' ὡς ἀληθῶς· ἔστι γοῦν
ἁπλῆ τις. (Β.) ἀστεία μὲν οὖν, νὴ τὸν Δία.

ὁ δὲ ὑμέτερος φιλοσοφομειρακίσκος τοιοῦτος οἷον Ἄλεξις ἢ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ὑπνῳ παράγει· |

not like the others, who roll their leeks
into balls and stuff their jaws with them, and gnaw off
a hunk of the meat in a disgusting way! Instead, she
took a little
taste of everything, like a girl from Miletus.

Antiphanes in *The Water-Jar* (fr. 210):

This guy I'm talking about
saw a courtesan living in the house of one of
his neighbors, and he fell in love with her.
She was a citizen, but she didn't have a guardian or
any relatives,
and she was exquisitely well-behaved—
a real *hetaira*! Because the behavior of the others
spoils the name, which is actually a good one.

Anaxilas in *Neottis* (fr. 21):

(A.) But if a girl speaks † modestly and
tries to make the people who want something happy,
she's referred to as a courtesan (*"hetaira"*), because
she acts like
a good companion (*ek tês hetaireias*). And according
to you, now,
you haven't fallen in love with a whore,
but with a courtesan, in fact. She's not up to anything,
at any rate. (B.) She's quite refined, by Zeus!

Whereas your little philosophy-boy is the sort of person Alexis (fr. 244) or Antiphanes brings onstage in *Sleep*:[159]

[159] Athenaeus also expresses doubts about which poet was the author of the play at 15.671d, where see n.

c διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ πόρνος οὗτος οὐδὲ τῶν πράσων
ἑκάστοτ' ἐπεδείπνει μεθ' ἡμῶν· τοῦτο δ' ἦν,
ἵνα μή τι λυπήσειε τὸν ἐραστὴν φιλῶν.

καλῶς δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων Ἔφιππος ἐν Σαπφοῖ φησιν·

ὅταν γὰρ ὢν νέος
ἀλλότριον † εἰσελθὼν † ὄψον ἐσθίειν μάθῃ
ἀσύμβολόν τε χεῖρα προσβάλῃ βορᾷ,
διδόναι νόμιζ' αὐτὸν σὺ τῆς νυκτὸς λόγον.

τὰ αὐτὰ εἴρηκεν καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ Κατὰ |
d Τιμάρχου. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑταιρῶν καὶ Φιλέταιρος ἐν Κυνηγίδι τάδε φησίν·

οὐκ ἐτὸς Ἑταίρας ἱερόν ἐστι πανταχοῦ,
ἀλλ' οὐχὶ γαμετῆς οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἑορτήν τιν' Ἑταιρίδεια ἀγομένην ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ οὐ διὰ τὰς ἑταίρας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑτέραν αἰτίαν, ἧς μνημονεύει Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν Ὑπομνήμασι γράφων ὧδε· τὴν τῶν Ἑταιριδείων ἑορτὴν συντελοῦσι Μάγνητες. ἱστοροῦσι δὲ πρῶτον Ἰάσονα τὸν Αἴσονος συν-
e αγαγόντα τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας | Ἑταιρείῳ Διὶ θῦσαι καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν Ἑταιρίδεια προσαγορεῦσαι. θύουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς τὰ Ἑταιρίδεια. Πόρνης δὲ

[160] Sc. by supplying sexual services to his benefactor.

[161] Identical verses (preceded by one other) are quoted also at 13.559a, but are assigned there to *The Whore-Monger*.

This is why this whore never ate any of the leeks
when he was having dinner with us—it was
so he wouldn't make his lover unhappy when he
kissed him.

Ephippus in *Sappho* (fr. 20) has some nice remarks about people like this:

Because whenever a young man
learns how † going inside † to eat what another
person's serving
and to put a hand that hasn't contributed anything on
the food,
you can assume he's paying off his debt at night.[160]

The orator Aeschines makes the same observation in his *Against Timarchus* (75). And Philetaerus in *The Huntress* (fr. 8) says the following on the subject of courtesans:[161]

It's no wonder there are temples of the Courtesan
everywhere,
but not a single one dedicated to the Married Woman
anyplace in Greece.

I am also aware of a festival known as the Hetairideia, which is held in Magnesia, not because of courtesans (*hetairai*), however, but for another reason, which Hegesander mentions in the *Commentaries* (fr. 25, *FHG* iv.418), writing as follows: The Magnesians celebrate the Hetairideia festival. They report that after Jason the son of Aeson assembled the Argonauts, he was the first person to sacrifice to Zeus Hetaireios ("God of Comradeship") and to refer to the festival as the Hetairideia. The Macedonian kings also celebrate a sacrificial rite known as the

Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν ἐστι παρὰ Ἀβυδηνοῖς, ὥς φησι Πάμφιλος· κατεχομένης γὰρ τῆς πόλεως δουλείᾳ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ποτε θύσαντας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Νεάνθης ἐν τοῖς Μυθικοῖς, καὶ μεθυσθέντας ἑταίρας πλείονας προσλαβεῖν, ὧν μίαν κατακοιμηθέντας αὐτοὺς ἰδοῦσαν ἀνελομένην τὰς κλεῖς καὶ τὸ τεῖχος
f ὑπερβᾶσαν ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς Ἀβυδηνοῖς. | τοὺς δ' αὐτίκα μεθ' ὅπλων ἀφικομένους ἀνελεῖν μὲν τοὺς φύλακας, κρατήσαντας δὲ τῶν τειχῶν καὶ γενομένους ἐγκρατεῖς τῆς ἐλευθερίας χαριστήρια τῇ πόρνῃ ἀποδιδόντας Ἀφροδίτης Πόρνης ναὸν ἱδρύσασθαι. Ἄλεξις δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὥρων Σαμιακῶν, τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀφροδίτην, ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἐν Καλάμοις καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἐν Ἕλει, Ἀττικαί, φησίν, ἑταῖραι ἱδρύσαντο αἱ συνακολουθήσασαι Περικλεῖ ὅτε ἐπολιόρκει τὴν
573 Σάμον, ἐργασάμεναι ἱκανῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας. || Εὐάλκης δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἐφεσιακοῖς καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ φησὶν ἱερὰ ἱδρῦσθαι Ἑταίρᾳ Ἀφροδίτῃ. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Ἐρωτικῶν, Γύγης, φησίν, ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς οὐ μόνον περὶ ζῶσαν τὴν ἐρωμένην περιβόητος γέγονεν, ἐγχειρίσας αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνῃ πᾶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτησάσης συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας Λυδοὺς πάντας ἔχωσε μὲν τὸ νῦν[29] ἔτι καλούμενον τῆς ἑταίρας μνῆμα, εἰς ὕψος ἄρας ὥστε περιοδεύοντος αὐτοῦ

[29] μὲν Λυδίας τὸ νῦν A: τὸ νῦν tantum CE: Λυδίας del. Kaibel

Hetairideia. According to Pamphilus (fr. XXIX Schmidt), there is a temple of Aphrodite Pornê ("the Whore") in Abydus. For during the period when the city was enslaved, the members of the garrison stationed in it made a sacrifice at one point, according to Neanthes in his *Legends* (*FGrH* 84 F 9), and after they got drunk, they got hold of a large number of prostitutes. One of the women saw that the soldiers had fallen asleep, and she stole the keys; scaled the wall; and described the situation to the inhabitants of the city. They immediately came with weapons and killed the guards, and after they captured the walls and recovered their freedom, they expressed their thanks to the whore by establishing a temple of Aphrodite Pornê. Alexis of Samos says in Book II of the *Annals of Samos* (*FGrH* 539 F 1): (The cult of) Samian Aphrodite, referred to by some authorities as Aphrodite in the Reeds, but by others as Aphrodite in the Marsh, was established by the Athenian prostitutes who accompanied Pericles when he was besieging Samos,[162] after they made a substantial amount of money as a result of their youth and beauty. Eualces in his *History of Ephesus* (*FGrH* 418 F 2) says that a sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite Hetaira was also established in Ephesus. Clearchus says in Book I of his *Erotica* (fr. 29 Wehrli): Gyges, the king of Lydia, was not only outspokenly devoted to his lover while she was alive, to the extent that he turned himself and his entire realm over to her, but also after she died, he assembled all the Lydians from the countryside and heaped up what is even today referred to as the Courtesan's Tomb. He made it high enough that

[162] In 439 BCE; the implication is that they were camp-followers, not official members of the expedition.

b τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Τμώλου χώραν, οὗ | ἂν ἐπιστραφεὶς τύχῃ, καθορᾶν τὸ μνῆμα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Λυδίαν οἰκοῦσιν ἄποπτον εἶναι. Δημοσθένης δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Νεαίρας λόγῳ, εἰ γνήσιος, ὃν Ἀπολλόδωρος εἴρηκε, φησί· τὰς μὲν ἑταίρας ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα ἔχομεν, τὰς δὲ παλλακὰς τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν παλλακείας,[30] τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τοῦ παιδοποιεῖσθαι γνησίως καὶ τῶν ἔνδον φύλακα πιστὴν ἔχειν. καταλέξω δέ σοι, Κύνουλκε, Ἰωνικήν τινα ῥῆσιν ἐκτείνας κατὰ τὸν Λἰσχύλου < . . . > περὶ ἑταιρῶν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς |
c Κορίνθου, ἐπειδή μοι τὴν αὐτόθι σοφιστείαν ὠνείδισας. νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ὡς καὶ Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Πινδάρου, ὅταν ἡ πόλις εὔχηται περὶ μεγάλων τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, συμπαραλαμβάνεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἱκετείαν τὰς ἑταίρας ὡς πλείστας, καὶ ταύτας προσεύχεσθαι τῇ θεῷ καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς παρεῖναι. καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν στρατείαν ἦγεν ὁ Πέρσης, ὡς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ, αἱ Κορίν-
d θιαι ἑταῖραι | εὔξαντο ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐλθοῦσαι νεών. διὸ καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἀναθέντων τῶν Κορινθίων πίνακα τῇ θεῷ τὸν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένοντα καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας ἰδίᾳ γραψάντων τὰς τότε ποιησαμένας τὴν ἱκετείαν καὶ

[30] παλλακείας ACE: θεραπείας Demosthenes

when he traveled around the territory on this side of Mt. Tmolus, he could see the tomb, no matter where he happened to be, and it would be visible to all the inhabitants of Lydia. The orator Demosthenes says in his speech *Against Neaera* ([D.] 59.122)—if it is genuine[163]—which Apollodorus[164] delivered: We have courtesans for pleasure; concubines to take care of a concubine's daily duties;[165] and wives to produce legitimate children for us and to keep a careful watch on everything inside our house. But I will tell you an Ionian story, Cynulcus, stretching it out, as Aeschylus (fr. 313a) puts it in . . . which involves prostitutes; and I will take as my starting point the lovely city of Corinth, since you criticized me for working as a sophist there.[166] It is an ancient custom in Corinth, as Chamaeleon of Heracleia records in his *On Pindar* (fr. 31 Wehrli), that whenever the city offers prayers to Aphrodite about important matters, as many prostitutes as possible are involved in the petition, and that they pray to the goddess and are present during the rites that follow. So when the Persian mounted his expedition against Greece,[167] according to both Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 285) and Timaeus in Book VII (*FGrH* 566 F 10), the Corinthian prostitutes went to Aphrodite's temple and prayed for her to save the Greeks. This is why, after the Corinthians dedicated a votive plaque (still preserved today) to the goddess and listed individually the prostitutes who made the petition at that

163 Ancient and modern authorities generally agree that the speech is not, in fact, by Demosthenes. 164 *PAA* 142545.

165 The traditional text of the speech has "our day-to-day physical needs". 166 See 13.567c with n.

167 In 480 BCE.

ὕστερον παρούσας συνέθηκε τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

αἵδ' ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ εὐθυμάχων πολιητᾶν
ἑστάθεν εὔχεσθαι Κύπριδι δαιμονίᾳ· |
e οὐ γὰρ τοξοφόροισιν ἐμήσατο δῖ' Ἀφροδίτα
Πέρσαις Ἑλλάνων ἀκρόπολιν προδόμεν.

καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται δὲ κατεύχονται τῇ θεῷ τελεσθέντων περὶ ὧν ἂν ποιῶνται τὴν δέησιν ἀπάξειν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας. ὑπάρχοντος οὖν τοῦ τοιούτου νομίμου περὶ τὴν θεὸν Ξενοφῶν ὁ Κορίνθιος ἐξιὼν εἰς Ὄλυμπίαν
f ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπάξειν ἑταίρας εὔξατο | τῇ θεῷ νικήσας. Πίνδαρός τε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔγραψεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγκώμιον, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή·

τρισολυμπιονίκαν
ἐπαινέων οἶκον,

ὕστερον δὲ καὶ σκόλιον τὸ παρὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἀισθέν, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθέως πεποίηται πρὸς τὰς ἑταίρας, αἳ παραγενομένου τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ θύοντος τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ συνέθυσαν. διόπερ ἔφη·

ὦ Κύπρου δέσποινα, τεὸν δεῦτ' ἐς ἅλσος
574 φορβάδων || κορᾶν ἀγέλαν ἑκατόγγυι-
ον Ξενοφῶν τελέαις
ἐπάγαγ' εὐχωλαῖς ἰανθείς.

168 Sc. at the rites that followed the prayer.

169 Other versions of the epigram are preserved at Plu. *Mor.* 871b; Σ Pi. *O.* 13.32.

time and were present afterward,[168] Simonides composed the following epigram ('Simon.' *FGE* 732–5):[169]

> These women stood here to pray to the divine Cypris
> on behalf of the Greeks and their fair-fighting
> fellow-citizens.
> For bright Aphrodite had no intention of betraying
> the
> Greeks' acropolis to the bow-bearing Persians.

Private citizens as well vow to the goddess that if they get what they request, they will bring the prostitutes to worship her. Since there was a custom of this sort involving the goddess, when Xenophon of Corinth[170] set off for Olympia for the competion, he vowed that he personally would bring prostitutes to worship Aphodite if he took the prize. And Pindar (*O.* 13.1–2) first wrote a panegyric hymn in his honor, which begins:

> Praising a house that
> has won three Olympic victories,

and later he also composed the song performed at the sacrifice. At the very beginning of this piece he refers to the prostitutes who joined Xenophon, who was present there making his sacrifice to Aphrodite. This is why he said (Pi. fr. 122.17–20):

> Lady of Cyprus, here to your sacred grove
> Xenophon, cheered by the prayers that were
> fulfilled, brought a 100-bodied
> band of kept women.

[170] Moretti #249–50; victorious in the stade-race and the pentathlon in 464 BCE.

ἤρξατο δ' οὕτως τοῦ μέλους·

πολύξεναι νεάνιδες, ἀμφίπολοι
Πειθοῦς ἐν ἀφνειῷ Κορίνθῳ,
αἵ τε τὰς χλωρᾶς λιβάνου ξανθὰ δάκρη
θυμιᾶτε, πολλάκι ματέρ' Ἐρώτων
οὐρανίαν πτάμεναι
νοήματι πρὸς Ἀφροδίταν,
ὑμῖν ἄνευθ' ἐπαγορίας ἔπορεν,
ὦ παῖδες, ἐρατειναῖς <ἐν> εὐναῖς
μαλθακᾶς ὥρας ἀπὸ καρπὸν δρέπεσθαι.
σὺν δ' ἀνάγκᾳ πᾶν καλόν.

ἀρξάμενος δ' οὕτως ἑξῆς φησιν·

b ἀλλὰ θαυμάζω, | τί με λέξοντι Ἰσθμοῦ
δεσπόται τοιάνδε μελίφρονος ἀρχὰν
εὑρόμενον σκολίου
ξυνάορον ξυναῖς γυναιξίν.

δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς τὰς ἑταίρας διαλεγόμενος ἠγωνία ποῖόν τι φανήσεται τοῖς Κορινθίοις τὸ πρᾶγμα. πιστεύων δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτὸς αὑτῷ πεποίηκεν εὐθέως·

διδάξαμεν χρυσὸν καθαρᾷ βασάνῳ.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίσια ἴδια ἄγουσιν αὐτόθι αἱ ἑταῖραι, Ἄλεξις ἐν Φιλούσῃ φησίν·

He began his song as follows (Pi. fr. 122.1–9):

> Young women who welcome many strangers,
> attendants
> of Persuasion in wealthy Corinth,
> you who burn auburn drops of fresh
> frankincense, and often soar in your thoughts
> to Aphrodite, the heavenly
> mother of the Love-gods—
> she granted you the right, children,
> to pick without reproach in your
> lovely beds the fruit of tender, youthful beauty.
> Everything forced upon us is good.

After beginning this way, he says immediately afterward (Pi. fr. 122.10–15):

> But I wonder what the lords of the Isthmus
> will say about me for discovering such a beginning
> for my lovely song,
> making common cause with women shared in
> common.

For it is obvious that he felt some anxiety, when he addressed the prostitutes, about how the situation would look to the Corinthians. But he apparently felt confident enough to write immediately after this (Pi. fr. 122.16):

> We reveal gold by using a pure touchstone.

Alexis in *Philousa*[171] (fr. 255) asserts that the prostitutes in Corinth celebrate a private festival of Aphrodite:

[171] Or perhaps *The Girl Who Was Kissing Someone*.

Ἀφροδίσι' ἦγε ταῖς ἑταίραις ἡ πόλις·
c ἕτερα δὲ χωρίς ἐστι ταῖς ἐλευθέραις.
ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις δὲ κωμάζειν ἔθος
ἔστιν † νόμος τε τὰς ἑταίρας ἐνθάδε μεθ' ἡμῶν. †

ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι, ὥς φησι Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἀναθημάτων, εἰκών ἐστι τῆς διαβοήτου ἑταίρας Κοττίνας, ἣν φησιν καὶ βοῦν ἀναθεῖναι χαλκῆν, γράφων οὕτως· καὶ τὸ Κοττίνας δὲ τῆς ἑταίρας εἰκόνιον, ἧς διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν οἴκημά τι
d λέγεται | καὶ νῦν ἐγγυτάτω τῆς Κολώνης, ἵνα τὸ Διονύσιόν ἐστιν, ἐπιφανὲς καὶ πολλοῖς ἐγνωσμένον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἀνάθημα δ' αὐτῆς ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου βοίδιόν τι χαλκοῦν καὶ τὸ προειρημένον εἰκόνιον. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ὁ καλός, ἐφ' οὗ τις τῶν κωμικῶν ἔφη·

Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν ἁβρόν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί,
ὃν ἡ Λακεδαίμων μοιχὸν ἐπιθυμεῖ λαβεῖν,

e ὑπὸ τῆς Ἄγιδος ἀγαπώμενος γυναικὸς ἐπὶ | τὰς τῶν ἑταιρίδων θύρας ἐκώμαζεν, ἀπολιπὼν τὰς Λακαίνας καὶ τὰς Ἀττικάς. Μεδοντίδος γοῦν τῆς Ἀβυδηνῆς ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἐρασθεὶς ἔστερξε καὶ πλεύσας εἰς Ἑλλήσπον-

172 Poralla #452; otherwise unknown.

173 Athena.

174 Alcibiades son of Cleinias (*PAA* 121625), the late 5th-century BCE Athenian politician and libertine, who spent some of the late Peloponnesian War years in exile in Sparta.

The city was celebrating a festival of Aphrodite for
the prostitutes;
there's a separate one for the free women.
It's common practice on those days to have wild
parties † and a law the prostitutes here with us. †

In Sparta, according to the travel-writer Polemon in his *On the Dedications in Sparta* (fr. 18 Preller), there is a portrait-statue of the notorious courtesan Cottina[172] who, he claims, dedicated a bronze bull. He writes as follows: Also the small portrait-statue of the courtesan Cottina, who was so famous that a well-known brothel located very close to Colone, where the sanctuary of Dionysus is, and with which many inhabitants of the city are familiar, bears her name even today. Her dedication is located just beyond the statue of the goddess of the Bronze House,[173] and consists of a miniature bronze bull and the small portrait-statue mentioned above. The handsome Alcibiades,[174] about whom one of the comic poets said (adesp. com. fr. 123):

The dainty Alcibiades, O earth and gods,
with whom Sparta wants to have an affair,

used to neglect the Spartan and Athenian citizen-women and organize drunken processions to prostitutes' doors—despite the fact that Agis' wife loved him.[175] He fell in love with Medontis of Abydus, for example, on the basis of her reputation, and sailed off to the Hellespont with

[175] The Agis in question is Agis II (Poralla #26; reigned 427/6–400 BCE); his wife was named Timaea (Poralla #695). Cf. 12.535b.

τον σὺν Ἀξιόχῳ, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ τῆς ὥρας ἐραστής, ὥς φησιν Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ, καὶ ταύτης ἐκοινώνησεν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἑτέρας δὲ δύο ἑταίρας περιήγετο αἰεὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, Δαμασάνδραν τὴν Λαΐδος τῆς νεωτέρας μητέρα καὶ Θεοδότην· ὑφ᾽ ἧς καὶ
f ἀποθανὼν ἐκηδεύθη ἐν Μελίσσῃ κώμῃ | τῆς Φρυγίας, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου. εἴδομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ ἐν Μελίσσῃ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου μνῆμα ἐκ Συννάδων εἰς Μητρόπολιν ἀφικνούμενοι· ἐφ᾽ ᾧ καὶ κατ᾽ ἔτος θύεται βοῦς, διακελευσαμένου τοῦτο τοῦ πάντα ἀρίστου Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως· ὃς καὶ ἀνέστησεν ἐπὶ τῷ
575 μνήματι Παρίου λίθου εἰκόνα τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. || οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμάζειν εἰ ἐξ ἀκοῆς τινες ἠράσθησάν τινων, ὁπότε Χάρης ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τῶν Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρόν φησιν ὀνείρατι θεασαμένους τινὰς οὓς μὴ πρότερον εἶδον ἐρασθῆναι αὐτῶν. γράφει δὲ οὕτως· Ὑστάσπῃ νεώτερος ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ζαριάδρης, περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὅτι ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀδώνιδος ἐγεννήθησαν. ἐκυρίευσεν δὲ ὁ μὲν Ὑστάσπης Μηδίας καὶ τῆς ὑποκάτω χώρας, ὁ
h δὲ Ζαριάδρης τῆς ὑπεράνω Κασπίων | πυλῶν μέχρι τοῦ Τανάιδος. τῶν δὲ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Τανάιδος Ὁμάρτῃ βασιλεῖ Μαραθῶν θυγάτηρ ἦν ὄνομα Ὀδάτις· περὶ ἧς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις γέγραπται ὡς ἄρα κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἰδοῦσα τὸν Ζαριάδρην ἐρασθείη, τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ τοῦτο

[176] *PAA* 139755; he was in fact Alcibiades' uncle

[177] Quoted at 12.534f–5a.

Axiochus,[176] who was infatuated with Alcibiades' youthful beauty, according to the orator Lysias in the speech directed against him (fr. 8 Carey),[177] and shared her with him. Alcibiades also routinely took two other courtesans, Damasandra (the mother of the younger Laïs) and Theodote, with him on his travels;[178] Theodote took care of his body after a plot by Pharnabazus led to his death in the Phrygian village of Melisse.[179] I myself saw Alcibiades' grave in Melisse as I was on my way from Synnada to Metropolis; a bull is sacrificed on it every year on the order of the universally excellent emperor Hadrian, who also had a statue of Alcibiades made of Parian marble erected beside the grave. There is no reason to be surprised if people occasionally fall in love with others on the basis of their reputation alone, given that Chares of Mitylene in Book X of his *History involving Alexander* (*FGrH* 125 F 5) claims that some individuals fall in love with people they have never seen after getting a glimpse of them in a dream. He writes as follows: Hystaspes had a younger brother named Zariadres; according to the locals, their parents were Aphrodite and Adonis. Hystaspes controlled Media and the lower country, whereas Zariadres was master of the territory beyond the Caspian Gates as far as the Tanaïs River. Homartes, the king of the Marathoi on the other side of the Tanaïs, had a daughter named Odatis; the histories record that she saw Zariadres in her sleep and fell in love with

[178] Cf. 12.535b–c (apparently drawn from the same source, although the woman called Damasandra here is there referred to as Timandra). [179] In 404/3 BCE. Pharnabazus (see 13.570c n.) was the local Persian satrap, who had Alcibiades killed at the request of the Spartan general Lysander. Cf. 12.535e.

κἀκείνῳ πάθος συμπεσεῖν πρὸς αὐτήν. διετέλουν οὖν ἀλλήλων ἐπιθυμοῦντες διὰ τὴν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον φαντασίαν. ἦν δὲ ἡ Ὀδάτις καλλίστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν γυναικῶν, καὶ ὁ Ζαριάδρης δὲ ἦν καλός. πέμποντος
c οὖν τοῦ Ζαριάδρου πρὸς τὸν Ὁμάρτην | καὶ φιλοτιμουμένου γῆμαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον, οὐ συνετίθετο ὁ Ὁμάρτης διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀρρένων παίδων ἔρημος· ἤθελεν γὰρ αὐτὴν δοῦναι ἐνὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκείων. καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ Ὁμάρτης συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας δυνάστας καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς γάμους, οὐ προειπὼν ὅτῳ μέλλοι διδόναι τὴν θυγατέρα. ἀκμαζούσης οὖν τῆς μέθης εἰσκαλέσας τὴν Ὀδάτιν ὁ πατὴρ εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον εἶπεν ἀκουόντων τῶν συνδείπνων, "ἡμεῖς, ὦ θύγατερ Ὀδάτι, νῦν ποι-
d ούμεθα | τοὺς σοὺς γάμους. περιβλέψασα οὖν καὶ θεωρήσασα πάντας λαβοῦσα χρυσῆν φιάλην καὶ πληρώσασα δὸς ᾧ θέλεις γαμηθῆναι· τούτου γὰρ κεκλήσῃ γυνή." κἀκείνη περιβλέψασα πάντας ἀπῆει δακρύουσα, ποθοῦσα τὸν Ζαριάδρην ἰδεῖν· ἐπεστάλκει γὰρ αὐτῷ ὅτι μέλλουσιν οἱ γάμοι συντελεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ στρατοπεδεύων ἐπὶ τοῦ Ταναΐδος καὶ διαλαθὼν τὴν στρατοπεδείαν διέβη μετὰ μόνου τοῦ ἁρματηλάτου καὶ νυκτὸς ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος διῆλθεν διὰ γῆς
e πολλῆς, διώξας περὶ τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους | σταδίους. πλησίον δὲ τῆς κώμης γενόμενος ἐν ᾗ τοὺς γάμους συνετέλουν καὶ καταλιπὼν ἔν τινι τόπῳ αὐτῷ ἅρματι τὸν ἁρματηλάτην προῆγεν ἐνδεδυκὼς στολὴν Σκυθικήν. καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν Ὀδάτιν

him, and the same happened to him in regard to her. As a result, they longed constantly for one another on the basis of what they had seen while asleep. Odatis was the most beautiful woman in Asia, and Zariadres was handsome. Zariadres accordingly sent a message to Homartes and begged to marry the girl, but Homartes refused, on the ground that he had no sons, since he wanted to give her to one of his close relatives. Shortly thereafter, Homartes assembled his kingdom's nobles, along with his friends and relatives, and celebrated a wedding feast, although without announcing in advance who he intended to give his daughter to. When everyone was very drunk, therefore, Odatis' father called her into the party and said, with all the guests listening: "My daughter Odatis, we are now celebrating your wedding. So look around; and after you have considered everyone, take a gold bowl, fill it, and give it to the man you wish to marry. For he will be your husband." But after she looked around at them all, she left in tears, since she wanted to see Zariadres; because she had written to tell him that her wedding was about to be celebrated. He was camped with his army on the banks of the Tanaïs, but crossed it without his troops noticing, accompanied only by his charioteer. Setting out by night on his chariot, he covered a large amount of territory, driving about 800 stades.[180] When he was near the village where the wedding was being celebrated, he left the charioteer with the chariot somewhere and went ahead, dressed in Scythian clothing. When he got to the courtyard and saw Odatis standing

[180] About 100 miles.

ἑστηκυῖαν πρὸ τοῦ κυλικείου καὶ δακρύουσαν κιρνᾶσάν τε βραδέως τὴν φιάλην εἶπεν πλησίον στὰς παρ' αὐτήν· "ὦ Ὀδάτι, πάρειμι δή σοι καθάπερ ἠξίωσας, ἐγὼ Ζαριάδρης." ἡ δὲ κατανοήσασα ξένον ἄνδρα καὶ καλὸν καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἑωραμένῳ | f περιχαρὴς γενομένη δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν φιάλην· καὶ ὃς ἁρπάσας αὐτὴν ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα καὶ ἔφυγεν ἔχων τὴν Ὀδάτιν. οἱ δὲ παῖδες καὶ αἱ θεράπαιναι συνειδυῖαι τὸν ἔρωτα κατεσιώπησαν καὶ κελεύοντος τοῦ πατρὸς λαλεῖν οὐκ ἔφασαν εἰδέναι ὅπου πεπόρευται. μνημονεύεται δὲ ὁ ἔρως οὗτος παρὰ τοῖς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦσι βαρβάροις καὶ περισσῶς ἐστι ζηλωτός, καὶ τὸν μῦθον τοῦτον ζωγραφοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις, ἔτι δὲ ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖς οἰκίαις· καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν θυγατράσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν δυναστῶν
576 ὄνομα τίθενται Ὀδάτιν. || τὸ ὅμοιον ἱστορεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτῶν Πολιτείᾳ γράφων οὕτως· Φωκαεῖς οἱ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ἐμπορίᾳ χρώμενοι ἔκτισαν Μασσαλίαν. Εὔξενος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς Νάνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ (τοῦτο δ' ἦν αὐτῷ ὄνομα) ἦν ξένος. οὗτος ὁ Νάνος ἐπιτελῶν γάμους τῆς θυγατρὸς κατὰ τύχην παραγενόμενον τὸν Εὔξενον παρακέκληκεν ἐπὶ τὴν θοίνην. ὁ δὲ γάμος ἐγίγνετο τόνδε <τὸν>[31] τρόπον· ἔδει μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον εἰσελθοῦσαν τὴν παῖδα φιάλην κεκερασμένην ᾧ βούλοιτο δοῦναι τῶν παρόντων μνηστήρων· ᾧ δὲ δοίη, τοῦτον εἶναι νυμφίον. ἡ δὲ παῖς | b εἰσελθοῦσα δίδωσιν εἴτε ἀπὸ τύχης εἴτε καὶ δι' ἄλλην

in front of the cupboard, crying and slowly mixing wine in the bowl, he stood close beside her and said: "Odatis, I am here with you, just as you asked; I am Zariadres!" When she saw a handsome stranger who looked like the man she had seen in her sleep, she was overjoyed and offered him the bowl; and he grabbed her and took her off to his chariot, and ran away with Odatis. Although the slaves and the servant-women knew about the romance, they kept quiet about it and denied that they knew where the girl had gone, even after her father ordered them to speak. The barbarians who live in Asia tell this love-story, and it is extremely popular among them; they have pictures that depict the tale in their temples and their palaces, as well as in their private homes, and many nobles give their own daughters the name Odatis. Aristotle in his *Constitution of the Massaliotes* (fr. 560) claims that something similar happened (there). He writes as follows: The Phocaeans who inhabit Ionia were traders and founded Massalia. Euxenus of Phocaea was a guest-friend of King Nanos—which was actually his name.[181] Euxenus happened to be visiting when this Nanos was celebrating his daughter's wedding, and he was invited to the feast. The wedding was organized as follows: After the meal, the girl had to come in and offer a bowl full of wine mixed with water to whichever suitor there she wanted, and whoever she gave it to would be her bridegroom. When the girl entered the room, she gave the bowl, either by accident or for some other reason, to

[181] *Nanos* normally means "dwarf", hence the need for the note.

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31 add. Musurus

τινὰ αἰτίαν τῷ Εὐξένῳ· ὄνομα δ' ἦν τῇ παιδὶ Πέττα. τούτου δὲ συμπεσόντος καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀξιοῦντος ὡς κατὰ θεὸν γενομένης τῆς δόσεως ἔχειν αὐτήν, ἔλαβεν ὁ Εὔξενος γυναῖκα καὶ συνῴκει μεταθέμενος τοὔνομα Ἀριστοξένην. καὶ ἔστι γένος ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου μέχρι νῦν Πρωτιάδαι καλούμενον· Πρῶτις γὰρ ἐγένετο υἱὸς Εὐξένου καὶ τῆς Ἀριστοξένης.

c Θεμιστοκλῆς | τε, ὥς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς, οὐχ ἅρμα ζευξάμενος ἑταιρῶν πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς εἰσήλασεν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ; ἦσαν δ' αὗται Λάμια καὶ Σκιώνη καὶ Σατύρα καὶ Νάννιον. οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐξ ἑταίρας ἦν γεγενημένος ὄνομα Ἀβροτόνου; ὡς Ἀμφικράτης ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἐνδόξων Ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματι·

Ἀβρότονον Θρήισσα γυνὴ γένος· ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι
τὸν μέγαν Ἕλλησιν φασὶ Θεμιστοκλέα. |

d Νεάνθης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Ἱστοριῶν Εὐτέρπης αὐτὸν εἶναί φησιν υἱόν. Κῦρος δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιστρατεύσας οὐχὶ

182 Literally "Best Guest/Host" *vel sim.*, matching his own name, which means literally "Hospitable".

183 A famous Athenian general and statesman (*PAA* 502610; *c.*525–459 BCE).

184 The anecdote is preserved also at 12.533d (again attributed to Idomeneus), but without the women's names, which were presumably added by Athenaeus to his source-document, like the variant report of Themistocles' mother's name below.

185 Lamia is *PAA* 601335; Scione is *PAA* 824370; Satyra is *PAA* 812660; and Nannion is *PAA* 700578.

186 *PAA* 101398.

Euxenus; her name was Petta. After this happened, and her father decided that the gift had been made in accord with the god's will, so that he ought to have her, Euxenus married and set up housekeeping with her, although he changed her name to Aristoxene.[182] There is still a family in Massalia today descended from her and known as the Protiadae; because Protis was the son of Euxenus and Aristoxene.

And did not Themistocles,[183] according to Idomeneus (*FGrH* 338 F 4a),[184] yoke a team of prostitutes to a chariot and drive it into the city when the marketplace was at its most crowded? The women in question were Lamia, Scione, Satyra, and Nannion.[185] And was not Themistocles himself the child of a courtesan named Abrotonon?[186] As Amphicrates records in his treatise *On Distinguished Men* (fr. 1, *FHG* iv.300):

> Abrotonon, a Thracian woman by birth; but they say
> that she gave birth
> to Themistocles, who was a great man in Greece.
> (anon. *FGE* 1158–9)[187]

Neanthes of Cyzicus in Books III and IV of his *History of Greece* (*FGrH* 84 F 2a), on the other hand, claims that Themistocles was the son of Euterpe.[188] And did not the Cyrus who mounted an expedition against his brother[189]

[187] Quoted also at Plu. *Them.* 1.1, but with a first-person singular verb in the second clause ("I say that I gave birth").

[188] *PAA* 445835.

[189] Cyrus the Younger, who revolted from Artaxerxes II in 401 BCE and died at the Battle of Cunaxa. The reference to the two women who accompanied Cyrus comes from X. *An.* 1.10.2–3 (where the former is called a concubine, not a courtesan).

ἑταίραν οὖσαν τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν σοφωτάτην <καὶ>[32] καλλίστην γενομένην εἶχε συστρατευομένην; ἣν Ζηνοφάνης φησὶ πρότερον Μιλτὼ καλουμένην Ἀσπασίαν μετονομασθῆναι. συνηκολούθει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ Μιλησία παλλακίς. ὁ δὲ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ Θαΐδα εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἑταίραν; περὶ ἧς φησι
e Κλείταρχος ὡς | αἰτίας γενομένης τοῦ ἐμπρησθῆναι τὰ ἐν Περσεπόλει βασίλεια. αὕτη δὲ ἡ Θαὶς καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ ἐγαμήθη τῷ πρώτῳ βασιλεύσαντι Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐγέννησεν αὐτῷ τέκνον Λεοντίσκον[33] καὶ Λάγον, θυγατέρα δὲ Εἰρήνην, ἣν ἔγημεν Εὔνοστος ὁ Σόλων τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλεύς. καὶ ὁ δεύτερος δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύς, Φιλάδελφος δ' ἐπίκλην, ὡς ἱστορεῖ ὁ Εὐεργέτης Πτολεμαῖος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Ὑπομνημάτων, πλείστας ἔσχεν ἐρωμένας, Διδύμην μὲν μίαν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γυναικῶν
f μάλ' εὐπρεπεστάτην τὴν ὄψιν καὶ | Βιλιστίχην, ἔτι δὲ Ἀγαθόκλειαν καὶ Στρατονίκην, ἧς τὸ μέγα μνημεῖον ὑπῆρχεν ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνι θαλάσσῃ, καὶ Μύρτιον καὶ ἄλλας δὲ πλείστας, ἐπιρρεπέστερος ὢν πρὸς ἀφροδίσια. Πολύβιος δὲ ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Κλειτοῦς φησι τῆς οἰνοχοούσης αὐτῷ εἰκόνας πολλὰς ἀνακεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μονοχίτωνας καὶ ῥυτὸν ἐχούσας ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. αἱ δὲ

[32] add. Casaubon

[33] Λεοντίσκον καὶ Λάγον ACE: καὶ Λάγον del. Berve

have an extremely wise and beautiful Phocaean courtesan who accompanied him on the campaign? Zenophanes reports that she was originally known as Milto, but changed her name to Aspasia. Cyrus' concubine from Miletus also accompanied him. And did not Alexander the Great have the Athenian courtesan Thaïs[190] with him? Cleitarchus (*FGrH* 137 F 11) claims that she was responsible for the palace in Persepolis being burned down. After Alexander's death, this same Thaïs married the first Ptolemy to become king of Egypt[191] and produced sons named Leontiscus and Lagus for him, as well as a daughter named Eirene, who married Eunostus, the king of Soli in Cyprus.[192] So too, according to Ptolemy Euergetes in Book III of his *Commentaries* (*FGrH* 234 F 4), the second king of Egypt, nicknamed Philadelphus,[193] had an enormous number of lovers, including Didume (who was a native women and extremely good-looking) and Bilistiche,[194] as well as Agathocleia, Stratonice[195] (to whom the large tomb located by the Bay of Eleusis belonged), Myrtion, and many others, since he was extremely interested in sex. Polybius in Book XIV (11.2–5)[196] of his *History* claims that many statues of Cleino, who poured his wine for him, are set up throughout Alexandria, wearing nothing but tunics and holding drinking-horns in their hands. And are not the

190 Berve i #359; *PAA* 500158.
191 Ptolemy I Soter (367/6–282 BCE)
192 *c.*307 BCE.
193 Ptolemy II Philadelphus (reigned 285/3–246 BCE).
194 Cf. 13.596e, where she is said to have been from Argos.
195 *PAA* 838200.
196 Polybius' comment about Cleino is cited also at 10.425f.

κάλλισται τῶν οἰκιῶν, φησίν, οὐ Μυρτίου καὶ Μνησίδος καὶ Ποθεινῆς προσαγορεύονται; καίτοι Μνησὶς μὲν ἦν αὐλητρὶς καὶ Ποθεινή, Μύρτιον δὲ μία τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων καὶ κοινῶν δεικτηριάδων. τοῦ δὲ Φι-
577 λοπάτορος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου οὐκ Ἀγαθόκλεια || ἡ ἑταίρα ἐκράτει, ἡ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀνατρέψασα τὴν βασιλείαν; Εὔμαχος δὲ ὁ Νεαπολίτης ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Περὶ Ἀννίβαν Ἱστοριῶν Ἱερώνυμόν φησι τὸν τυραννήσαντα Συρακοσίων ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκα τῶν ἐπ᾽ οἰκήματος προεστηκυιῶν Πειθὼ ὄνομα καὶ ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλίδα. Τιμόθεος δ᾽ ὁ στρατηγήσας Ἀθηναίων ἐπιφανῶς ἑταίρας ἦν υἱὸς Θράττης τὸ γένος, σεμνῆς δ᾽ ἄλλως τοὺς τρόπους· μεταβάλλουσαι γὰρ αἱ τοιαῦται
b εἰς τὸ σῶφρον τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνυνομένων | εἰσὶ βελτίους. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος καὶ σκωπτόμενός ποτε ὅτι τοιαύτης εἴη μητρός, "καὶ χάριν γε αὐτῇ", φησίν, "οἶδα, ὅτι δι᾽ αὐτὴν Κόνωνός εἰμι υἱός." Φιλέταιρον δὲ τὸν Περγάμου καὶ τῆς Καινῆς ταύτης λεγομένης βασιλεύσαντα χώρας Βόας αὐλητρίδος ἑταίρας τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Παφλαγονίας υἱόν φησι γενέσθαι Καρύστιος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν. Ἀριστοφῶν δ᾽ ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁ τὸν νόμον εἰσενεγκὼν ἐπ᾽ Εὐκλείδου ἄρ-

[197] Mnesis is Stephanis #1729; Potheine is Stephanis #2076; and Myrtion is Stephanis #1761.

[198] I.e. Ptolemy IV (reigned 221–205 BCE, when he was murdered in a palace coup). [199] Hieronymus was the son of Gelon II, and took power in 215 BCE. [200] Literally "one of the women who stand in front of a brothel".

finest brothels, he says, referred to using the names of Myrtion, Mnesis, and Potheine? Mnesis, in fact, was a pipe-girl, as was Potheine, while Myrtion was one of the best- and most widely known mime-actresses.[197] And did not the courtesan Agathocleia exercise control over King Ptolemy Philopator,[198] and actually wreck his entire kingship? Eumachus of Neapolis in Book II of his *History involving Hannibal* (*FGrH* 178 F 1) claims that Hieronymus, who was tyrant of Syracuse,[199] married a common brothel-prostitute[200] named Peitho and made her his queen. The Athenian general Timotheus[201] was widely recognized to be the son of a courtesan whose family was from Thrace, although she behaved respectably in other ways; because when women like this convert to a disciplined lifestyle, they are better than those who pride themselves on this quality. When someone made fun of Timotheus at one point because of the sort of woman his mother was, he said: "And I'm grateful to her; because she's the reason I'm Conon's son." According to Carystius in the *Historical Commentaries* (fr. 12, *FHG* iv.358), Philetaerus, who was the king of Pergamum and the region known as Caene, was the son of a courtesan named Boa[202] who played the pipes, and whose family was from Paphlagonia. The orator Aristophon,[203] who during the archonship of Eucleides

[201] Timotheus (*PAA* 886180; mid-410s–*c*.356/5 BCE) inherited an enormous fortune from his father Conon (*PAA* 581750; d. 391) and wielded considerable political power in Athens in the 370s–350s. The claim that his mother was a Thracian courtesan is not to be taken seriously. [202] Stephanis #527.

[203] *PAA* 176170. Eucleides (below; *PAA* 435935) was eponymous archon in 403/2 BCE.

χοντος, ὃς ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀστῆς γένηται νόθον εἶναι, αὐτὸς
c ἀπεδείχθη | ὑπὸ Καλλιάδου τοῦ κωμικοῦ ἐκ Χορηγίδος τῆς ἑταίρας παιδοποιησάμενος, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ Καρύστιος ἐν τρίτῳ Ὑπομνημάτων. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Πολιορκητὴς οὐ δαιμονίως ἄρα Λαμίας τῆς αὐλητρίδος, ἐξ ἧς ἔσχε καὶ θυγατέρα Φίλαν; τὴν δὲ Λάμιαν Πολέμων φησὶν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἐν Σικυῶνι Ποικίλης Στοᾶς θυγατέρα μὲν εἶναι Κλεάνορος Ἀθηναίου, κατασκευάσαι δὲ Σικυωνίοις τὴν προκειμένην στοάν. ἄρα δὲ καὶ Λεαίνης καὶ αὐτῆς ἑταίρας Ἀττικῆς
d ὁ Δημήτριος | καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλειόνων. Μάχων δ' ὁ κωμῳδιοποιὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Χρείαις φησὶν οὕτως·

ὑπερβολῇ δὲ τῆς Λεαίνης σχῆμά τι
περαινομένης εὖ παρά τε τῷ Δημητρίῳ
εὐημερούσης, φασὶ καὶ τὴν † Λαμίαν
τὸν βασιλέ' εὐμελῶς κελητίσαι ποτὲ
ἐπαινεθῆναί θ'· ἡ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀπεκρίθη, †
"πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ Λέαιναν, εἰ βούλει, κράτει."

e ἦν δὲ ἡ Λάμια σφόδρα εὔθικτος καὶ ἀστικὴ | πρὸς τὰς

[204] Callias' (*PAA* 553915) initial victory at the City Dionysia belongs to the mid-440s BCE (*IG* II² 2325.53), which makes it difficult to believe that he attacked Aristophon over 40 years later, while the comic poet Calliades (*PAA* 553000) belongs to the very end of the 4th century (*IG* II² 2325.166). The claim that Aristophon's mother was a courtesan is in any case merely typical comic slander. [205] *PAA* 176170.

proposed the law according to which anyone whose mother was not a citizen was to be regarded as illegitimate, was himself revealed by the comic author Calliades (= Callias Com. fr. *40)[204] to have had a child by a courtesan named Choregis,[205] according to the same Carystius in Book III of the *Commentaries* (fr. 11, *FHG* iv.358). And was not Demetrius Poliorcetes madly in love with the pipe-girl Lamia,[206] by whom he had a daughter named Phila? Polemon in his *On the Painted Stoa in Sicyon* (fr. 14 Preller) says that Lamia was the daughter of Cleanor of Athens and was responsible for the construction of the stoa in question in Sicyon. Demetrius was also in love with Leaina,[207] who was another Athenian courtesan, and with many other women.[208] The comic poet Macho in his work entitled *Anecdotes* says the following (168–73 Gow):

> When Leaina adopted a remarkable
> position and had a great success with
> Demetrius, they say that † Lamia
> rode fluidly on top of the king at one point
> and was praised for it. She responded as follows: †
> "Well, then—have a Leaina, if you like!"[209]

Lamia was extremely witty and clever in the responses she

[206] Stephanis #1527; *PAA* 601325; cf. 6.253b (citing the same work by Polemon). Lamia's father Cleanor (*PAA* 574660) is not otherwise attested. [207] *PAA* 602685.

[208] Cf. 13.593a, on Myrrhine.

[209] An echo of E. *Med.* 1358 ("Well then—call me a lioness [*leaina*], if you like!"). The point is obscure, but Lamia is perhaps referring somehow to the "lioness-on-a-cheesegrater" position mentioned at Ar. *Lys.* 231–2.

ἀποκρίσεις, καθάπερ καὶ Γνάθαινα, περὶ ἧς ἐροῦμεν. πάλιν δὲ περὶ τῆς Λαμίας ὁ Μάχων οὕτω γράφει·

Δημήτριός ποθ' ὁ βασιλεὺς γένη μύρων
Λαμίᾳ παρὰ πότον παντοδαπῶν ἐπεδείκνυτο.
(ἡ Λάμια δ' ἦν αὐλητρὶς ἧς σφόδρ' ἡδέως
σχεῖν φασι κνισθῆναί τε τὸν Δημήτριον.)
ἀποδοκιμαζούσης δὲ πάντα καὶ πάνυ
κατεγχλιδώσης τῷ βασιλεῖ, νάρδου τινὰ |
f διένευσ' ἐνεγκεῖν εὐτελῆ τῇ χειρί τε
ταὐδοῖον ἀποτρίψας θιγὼν τοῖς δακτύλοις,
"τουτί γε, Λάμια," φησίν, "ὀσφράνθητι καὶ
εἴσει παρὰ τἄλλα διαφορὰν ὅσην ἔχει."
κείνη δὲ γελάσασ', "ἀλλὰ τοῦτ'," ἔφη, "τάλαν,
ὄζειν δοκεῖ μοι σαπρότατον πάντων πολύ."
Δημήτριος δ' εἶπ', "ἀλλὰ μήν, νὴ τοὺς θεούς,
ἀπὸ βαλάνου τοῦτ' ἐστί, Λάμια, βασιλικῆς."

Πτολεμαῖος δ' ὁ τοῦ Ἀγησάρχου ἐν ταῖς Περὶ τὸν
578 Φιλοπάτορα || Ἱστορίαις βασιλέων ἐρωμένας ἀναγράφων φησίν· Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνας αὐξήσαντος Φίλιννταν τὴν ὀρχηστρίδα, ἐξ ἧς καὶ γεννῆσαι Ἀρριδαῖον τὸν μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλεύσαντα. Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ μετὰ τὰς προειρημένας Μανίαν,

[210] At 13.579e–81a. [211] Philip II (reigned 360/59–336 BCE). [212] Stephanis #2494.

[213] Cf. 13.557c with n. Philip III Arrhidaeus (Berve i #781) was mentally unstable and never served as more than a figurehead; Olympias finally had him put to death in 317 BCE.

offered, much like Gnathaena, whom I will discuss later.[210] Macho (174–87 Gow) writes as follows, once again discussing Leaina:

> At a drinking party once, King Demetrius
> was showing Lamia various different types of
> perfume.
> (Lamia was a pipe-girl, and they say that Demetrius
> was very sweet on her and found her sexually
> exciting.)
> When she claimed not to like any of them and was
> acting very
> haughty toward the king, he signaled for a slave to
> bring him
> some expensive spikenard perfume. He rubbed
> his penis with his hand, smeared the result on his
> fingers,
> and said: "Smell *this*, Lamia, and
> you'll see how much better it is than the others!"
> She laughed and said: "In my opinion, you poor
> bastard,
> that one smells more disgusting than all the rest."
> Demetrius responded: "But the fact is, by the gods,
> Lamia, that this one comes from royal nuts."

Ptolemy the son of Agesarchus in his *History involving Philopator* (*FGrH* 161 F 4) offers a list of royal mistresses and says: of the Philip who made Macedon a great power,[211] the dancing-girl Philinna,[212] who gave birth to the Arrhidaeus who became king after Alexander;[213] of Demetrius Poliorcetes, after the women mentioned

Ἀντιγόνου δὲ Δημώ, ἐξ ἧς Ἀλκυονέα γενν̣ηθῆναι, Σελεύκου δὲ τοῦ νεωτέρου Μύσταν καὶ Νῦσαν. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Λέμβος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Δημὼ φησιν ἐρωμένην γενέσθαι τοῦ Δημη-
b τρίου· | ἧ ἐπιμανῆναι καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀντίγονον καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι Ὀξύθεμιν ὡς καὶ πολλὰ συνεξαμαρτάνοντα τῷ Δημητρίῳ, καὶ ὅτι ἀπέκτεινε τὰς τῆς Δημοῦς θεραπαίνας στρεβλῶν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ εἰρημένου τῆς Μανίας ὀνόματος ὁ Μάχων τάδε φησίν·

ἴσως δ' ἂν ἀπορήσαι τις εὐλόγως θ' ἅμα
τῶν νῦν ἀκροατῶν εἴ τις Ἀττικὴ γυνὴ
προσηγορεύετ' ἢ 'νομίσθη Μανία,
αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὄνομα Φρυγιακὸν γυναῖκ' ἔχειν |
c καὶ ταῦθ' ἑταίραν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος
† η τὴν Ἀθηναίων τι † κωλῦσαι πόλιν,
ὑφ' ἧς ἅπαντές εἰσ' ἐπηνορθωμένοι.
τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχον εὐθέως ἐκ παιδίου
αὐτῇ Μέλιττ' ἦν ὄνομα. τῷ μεγέθει μὲν <ἦν>
τῶν τότε γυναικῶν βραχύ τι καταδεεστέρα,
φωνῇ δ' ὁμιλίᾳ τε κεχορηγημένη,

214 *PAA* 639735.

215 Plu. *Demetr.* 27.4 claims that Demo (otherwise unknown, like her child Alcyoneus) was the real name of the courtesan Mania; but he may well be confused.

216 Probably Seleucus II Callinicus (reigned 246–225 BCE).

217 Oxythemis (Billows #86) was closely associated with Demetrius Poliorcetes throughout his career (cf. 6.253a; 14.614e–f), but was executed by Antigonus Gonatas (confused here with

above, Mania;[214] of Antigonus, Demo, who produced Alcyoneus;[215] of the younger Seleucus,[216] Mysta and Nysa. Heracleides Lembus in Book XXXVI of his *History* (fr. 4, *FHG* iii.168–9) says that Demo was Demetrius' mistress; his father Antigonus fell madly in love with (*epimanênai*) her and killed Oxythemis, on the grounds that he had been involved in many of Demetrius' misadventures and had tortured Demo's servant-girls to death.[217] As for Mania's name, which I have just referred to, Macho (188–217 Gow) says the following:

> A member of my present audience might perhaps be
> surprised—
> and reasonably so!—that any Athenian woman
> was ever addressed or known as Mania;
> for it is disgraceful for a woman from the heart of
> Greece
> to have a Phrygian name,[218] and particularly a
> prostitute,
> † the of the Athenians something † to prevent a city
> that keeps everyone else in line.
> Her original name, when she was a child,
> was Melitta.[219] As for her height, she was
> just a bit shorter than the average woman of her time.
> But she had a gift for talk and conversation;

Antigonus Monophthalmus) at some point after Demetrius' death in 283 BCE. [218] Mania is the female form of Manes, a common Lydian, Phrygian, and Cappadocian name often used for Athenian slaves (cf. 11.487e with n.; 15.667f). But the first *alpha* in the name is long, whereas in the Greek word *mania* ("craziness, madness") it is short, making the explanation of the origin of Mania's name offered below impossible. [219] *PAA* 639735.

πάνυ δ' εὐπρόσωπος οὖσα καὶ καταπληκτικὴ
πολλοὺς ἐραστάς, καὶ πολίτας καὶ ξένους, |
d εἶχ', οἷς ὅπου περὶ ⟨τῆς⟩ γυναικός τις λόγος
γένοιτο, μανίαν τὴν Μέλιτταν ὡς καλὴν
ἔφασκον εἶναι, καὶ προσεξειργάζετο
αὐτὴ τὸ πλεῖον· ἡνίκα σκώψειε γάρ,
ῥημάτιον εὐθὺ τοῦτο "μανίαν" ἀνεβόα,
αὐτή θ' ὅτ' ἐπαινοίη τιν' ἢ ψέγοι πάλιν,
ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων προσέκειτο "μανία" τῶν λόγων.
διὸ τῆς μανίας τὸ ῥῆμ' ἐπεκτείνας δοκεῖ
καλέσαι τις αὐτὴν τῶν ἐραστῶν Μανίαν. |
e μᾶλλον τὸ πάρεργον ἐπεκράτησ' ἢ τοὔνομα.
ἐδόκει δὲ λιθιᾶν, ὡς ἔοιχ', ἡ Μανία,
Γνάθαινα δ' εἰς τὰ στρώματ' ὅτι προίετο,
ἐνουθετήθη τοῦτό πως ὑπὸ Διφίλου.
μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἡ Γνάθαινα πρὸς τὴν Μανίαν
ἐλοιδορεῖτο καὶ λέγει, "τί τοῦτο, παῖ;
εἰ δὲ λίθον εἶχες—" ὑπολαβοῦσ' ἡ Μανία,
"ἔδωκ' ἄν, ἵν' ἔχῃς", φήσ', "ἀποψᾶσθαι, τάλαν."

ὅτι δ' ἦν καὶ ἀστεία τις ἀποκρίνασθαι, τάδε περὶ |
f αὐτῆς ὁ Μάχων ἀναγράφει·

[220] I.e. made the initial *alpha* long; see above.

[221] Another famous courtesan (*PAA* 278790).

[222] The comic poet (*PAA* 369380); associated with Gnathaena by Macho again in the passage quoted at 13.579e–80a.

[223] The Greeks had no equivalent of toilet paper, and instead sometimes used smooth stones to wipe themselves. Cf. the very similar story (attributed to Lynceus) at 13.584e–d; as Gow (on Macho 215ff) notes, "the anecdote . . . is not very easy to follow in

was extremely good-looking, even stunning;
and had many lovers, both citizens and
foreigners. Whenever they discussed the woman,
they used to say it was craziness (*mania*), how
beautiful
Melitte was, and she herself put the word
to further use. Because whenever someone made a
joke,
she immediately cried out the following: "Craziness!"
(*mania*)
And whenever she herself praised someone, or
criticized them instead,
she appended the word "Craziness!" to both types of
remark.
This is why one of her lovers, apparently, lengthened
the word[220] and referred to her as Mania,
and the nickname won out over her real one.
Mania apparently suffered from kidney stones, so it
seems,
and when Gnathaena[221] shat in their bed,
Diphilus[222] scolded her a bit for this.
Later on Gnathaena was chewing
Mania out and said: "What's this, girlie?
If you had a stone—"; but Mania interrupted
and said: "I would have given it to you, bitch, to wipe
your ass!"[223]

As for how witty she was when she answered people, Macho (218–57 Gow) offers the following anecdotes involving her:

either version. In particular it is not plain how to punctuate or understand Gnathaena's remark."

τῆς Μανίας ἦρα Λεοντίσκος ποτὲ
ὁ παγκρατιαστὴς καὶ συνεῖχ' αὐτὴν μόνος
γαμετῆς τρόπον γυναικός, ὑπὸ δ' Ἀντήνορος
μοιχευομένην αἰσθόμενος αὐτὴν ὕστερον
σφόδρ' ἠγανάκτησ'· ἡ δέ, "μηθέν", φησί, "σοί,
ψυχή, μελέτω, μαθεῖν γὰρ αἰσθέσθαι θ' ἅμα
Ὀλυμπιονικῶν νυκτὸς ἀθλητῶν δυεῖν ||
579 πληγὴν < . . . > τί δύναταί ποτ' ἤθελον."
αἰτουμένην λέγουσι τὴν πυγήν ποτε
ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Μανίαν Δημητρίου
ἀνταξιῶσαι δωρεὰν καὐτόν τινα,
δόντος δ' ἐπιστρέψασα μετὰ μικρὸν λέγει,
"Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ, νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἔξεστί σοι."
εἶναι δοκῶν αὐτόμολος ἄνθρωπος ξένος
καὶ παρεπιδημήσας Ἀθήνησίν ποτε
τὴν Μανίαν μετεπέμψαθ', ὅσον ἤτησε δούς. |
b εἰς τὸν δὲ ‹πότον› ἦν συμπαρειληφώς τινας
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἐπιγελᾶν εἰθισμένων
ἅπαντα τοῖς τρέφουσιν αἰεὶ πρὸς χάριν.
βουλόμενος εἶναι γλαφυρὸς ἀστεῖός θ' ἅμα
τῆς Μανίας ἄριστα παιζούσης σφόδρα
† ἀνισταμένης τε πολλάκις εἰς δασύποδα †

[224] Leontiscus of Messana in Sicily, victorious perhaps in 304 BCE (Paus. 6.4.3; Moretti #495).

[225] Antenor of Miletus, another pancratiast, victorious at Olympia in 308 BCE (*PAA* 131460; Moretti #488). The basic sense of Mania's excuse in the verses that follow is clear enough, although the text has never been convincingly restored.

At one point the pancratiast Leontiscus[224] was
in love with Mania, and he tried to keep her to
himself,
as if she was his legitimate wife. Later on he realized
that she had been seduced by Antenor,[225]
and he was extremely upset. But she said: "Don't let
it
worry you, sweetheart; because I wanted to learn and
experience what it would mean . . . a pounding
from a pair of Olympic victors at night."
They say that at one point King Demetrius
asked Mania to have anal sex with him,
and she requested a present in return.
When he gave it to her, she twisted around a bit and
said:
"Child of Agamemnon, now what you wanted is
yours."[226]
At one point a foreigner, who was apparently
a military deserter, was visiting Athens,
and he sent for Mania and paid her what she asked.
He had brought with him to the party some
of the people in the city who were used to laughing
at anything to keep those who fed them happy.[227]
Because he wanted to appear both smooth and
sophisticated, even though Mania was being highly
amusing
† and getting up repeatedly to a hare †[228]

[226] A quotation of S. *El.* 2. [227] I.e. some parasites.

[228] Mania is presumably leaving the room to urinate, and the speed with which she moves causes her customer to compare her to a hare. But a verse (or more) seems to have fallen out of the text.

αὐτὴν ἐπικροῦσαι βουλόμενος, "πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,
c μειράκια, τί δοκεῖ τῶν ἀγρίων ὑμῖν ποτε
ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τάχιστα θηρίον τρέχειν;"
ἡ Μανία δ', "αὐτόμολος, ὦ βέλτιστ'," ἔφη.
μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὡς εἰσῆλθε πάλιν ἡ Μανία,
τὸν αὐτόμολον ἔσκωπτε ῥίψασπίν τ' ἔφη
αὐτὸν γεγονέναι προσβολῆς οὔσης ποτέ.
ὁ δὲ στρατιώτης ὑπό τι ‹δὴ› σκυθρωπάσας
ἀπεπέμψατ' αὐτήν, διαλιποῦσα δ' ἡμέραν,
"μηθὲν παρὰ τοῦτο," φησί, "λυποῦ, φίλτατε,
οὐ γὰρ σὺ φεύγων ἀπέβαλες τὴν ἀσπίδα,
d μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἀλλ' ὅ σοι χρήσας τότε."
ἐν συμποσίῳ δ', ὥς φασι, παρὰ τῇ Μανίᾳ
παρεδέξατ' αὐτὴν τῶν πονηρῶν τις πάνυ,
κᾆθ' ὡς ἐπηρώτησε, "πότερ' ἄνω θέλεις
ἐλθοῦσ' ἅμα βαλεῖν ἢ κάτω;", γελάσασ', "ἄνω,
βέλτιστε," φησίν, "ὑπό τι γὰρ δέδοικά σε
μή μου προπεσούσης τοὐμπλόκιον ὑπεκτράγῃς."

καὶ ἄλλων δὲ ἑταιρῶν ἀπομνημονεύματα ὁ Μάχων
e συνήγαγεν, ὧν οὐκ ἄκαιρόν ἐστιν κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς μιημονεῦσαι. Γναθαίνης μὲν οὕτως·

παρὰ Γναθαίνῃ Δίφιλος πίνων ποτέ,
"ψυχρόν γ'", ἔφη, "τἀγγεῖον, ὦ Γνάθαιν', ἔχεις."

[229] Sc. so that he could run away more rapidly, shields being cumbersome and heavy, and thus generally the first item soldiers trying to escape a battle discarded.

[230] For Gnathaena and Diphilus (below), see 13.578e n.

wanting to slap her around: "By the gods,
dudes; which wild animal do you think
runs the fastest in the mountains?"
Mania said: "A deserter, my good sir."
And when Mania came back in again afterward,
she made fun of the deserter and accused him of
having thrown away his shield[229] once, when an
attack took place.
The soldier scowled a bit
and sent her away; but a day later
she said: "Don't let that bother you, dearest.
You aren't the one who lost the shield when you ran
away,
by Aphrodite; it was the guy who loaned it to you!"
At a drinking party in Mania's house, they say,
a very dubious individual got a turn with her,
and then when he asked: "Do you want to be on your
back
when we have sex, or on your knees?", she laughed
and said:
"On my back, my good sir; because I'm afraid that if
I'm
on my knees, you'll swipe my hair-clasp!"

Macho collected anecdotes about other courtesans as well, and this seems a good time to quote all of them. (He says) the following about Gnathaena[230] (258–332 Gow):

At one point Diphilus was drinking in Gnathaena's
house,
and he said: "This is a cold jar you've got,
Gnathaena!"

"τῶν σῶν γάρ", εἶπεν, "ἐπιμελῶς, ὦ Δίφιλε,
εἰς αὐτό γ' αἰεὶ δραμάτων ἐμβάλλομεν."
πρὸς τὴν Γνάθαιναν Δίφιλος κληθείς ποτε
ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ὡς λέγουσι, τοῖς Ἀφροδισίοις,
τιμώμενος μάλιστα τῶν ἐρωμένων
† ληθητ' † ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκτενῶς ἀγαπώμενος,
παρῆν ἔχων δύο Χῖα, Θάσια τέτταρα,
μύρον, στεφάνους, τραγήματ', ἔριφον, ταινίας,
ὄψον, μάγειρον, τὰ μετὰ ταῦτ' αὐλητρίδα. |
f καὶ τῶν ἑραστῶν Συριακοῦ τινος ξένου
πέμψαντος αὐτῇ χιόνα σαπέρδην θ' ἕνα
αἰσχυνομένη τὰ δῶρα μή τις καταμάθῃ
φυλαττομένη τε πολὺ μάλιστα Δίφιλον
μὴ δῷ δίκην μετὰ ταῦτα κωμῳδουμένη,
τὸ μὲν τάριχος εἶπε ταχέως ἀποφέρειν
πρὸς τοὺς σπανίζειν ὁμολογουμένους ἁλῶν,
τὴν χιόνα δ' εἰς τὸν ἄκρατον ἐνσεῖσαι λάθρᾳ ||
580 τῷ παιδί τ' ἐπέταξ' ἐγχέανθ' ὅσον δέκα
κυάθους προσενεγκεῖν Διφίλῳ ποτήριον.
ὑπερηδέως δὲ τὴν κύλικ' ἐκπιὼν ἄφνω
καὶ τὸ παράδοξον καταπλαγεὶς ὁ Δίφιλος,

[231] The adjective *psuchros* ("cold") also had the literary-critical sense "stiff, forced"; cf. Austin–Olson on Ar. *Th.* 168–70. A more extended version of the anecdote is preserved below (Macho 262–84 Gow). [232] An inexpensive and unpalatable fish of some sort (here apparently salted); cf. 7.308e–f. For snow mixed into wine to cool it (below), cf. 4.125e–d.

[233] I.e. to the poor.

She said: "Yes, Diphilus; because we always
deliberately put some of your plays into it!"[231]
At one point Diphilus (test. 8) was invited to
Gnathaena's house
for dinner, so they say, during the Aphrodisia festival,
and since he was the lover she liked best
[corrupt] she was intensely fond of him,
he arrived with two jars of Chian wine, four of
Thasian,
perfume, garlands, snacks, a kid, ribbons,
fish, a cook, and a pipe-girl for afterward.
A Syrian foreigner, who was another one of her
lovers,
had sent her snow and a single *saperdê*.[232]
Since she was embarrassed that someone might
notice the gifts,
and was particularly concerned about Diphilus,
because she did not want to be punished, by being
made fun of in a comedy afterward,
she ordered that the saltfish be taken away quickly
and given
to the people who were generally agreed to be short
of salt,[233]
and had the snow discreetly added to the wine;
and she instructed the slave to pour ten ladlesful
or so into a cup and offer it to Diphilus.
The moment Diphilus emptied the cup, he was
delighted
by it, and struck by how unusual it was,

"νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ θεούς, ψυχρόν γ'," ἔφη,
"Γνάθαιν', ἔχεις τὸν λάκκον ὁμολογουμένως."
ἡ δ' εἶπε, "τῶν σῶν δραμάτων γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς
εἰς αὐτὸν αἰεὶ τοὺς προλόγους ἐμβάλλομεν."
μαστιγίας μώλωπας ὑψηλοὺς ἔχων
μετὰ τῆς Γναθαίνης ἀπὸ τύχης ἀνεπαύετο. |
b περιλαμβάνουσα δ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἀνώμαλον
τὸ νῶτον εἶχε παντελῶς, "τάλαν, τάλαν
ἄνερ, πόθεν ἔχεις ταῦτ'", ἔφη, "τὰ τραύματα;"
κἀκεῖνος αὐτῇ συντόμως ἀπεκρίνατο
ὅτι παῖς ποτ' ὢν ἀνείλετ', εἰς πυρὰν ὅτε
παίζων μετά τινων ἡλικιωτῶν ἐνέπεσεν.
"ναὶ τὴν φίλην Δήμητρα, δικαίως † τοιγαρ †,
ἄνθρωπε," φησίν, "ἐξεδάρης ἀκόλαστος ὤν."
παρὰ Δεξιθέᾳ δειπνοῦσα θἠταίρᾳ ποτὲ
Γνάθαινα, τοὔψον ἀποτιθείσης πᾶν σχεδὸν |
c τῆς Δεξιθέας τῇ μητρί, "νὴ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν,
εἰ", φησίν, "ᾔδειν", ἡ Γνάθαινα, "τοῦτ' ἐγώ,
τῇ μητρὶ συνεδείπνουν ἄν, οὐχὶ σοί, γύναι."
ἐπεὶ προέβη τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἡ Γνάθαινα καὶ
ἤδη τελέως ἦν ὁμολογουμένως σορός,
εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐξίναι
καὶ τοὔψον ἐφορᾶν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν πόσου

[234] A similar anecdote (but involving a different courtesan) is preserved at 13.585b–c.

[235] *PAA* 303388.

and he said: "By Athena and the other gods,
Gnathaena—
everyone will agree, that cistern of yours is a cold
one!"
And she said: "Yes; because we always deliberately
put the prologues of your plays into it!"
A man who had been publicly whipped and had
prominent scars
happened to be sleeping with Gnathaena.
She put her arms around him, and because he had an
extremely rough back, she said: "You poor,
poor creature—how did you get hurt like this?"
He gave her a curt answer, to the effect
that he got (the scars) as a boy, when he was playing
with some children his own age and fell into a fire.
"By my beloved Demeter, sir," she said, "you
deserved
[corrupt] to get whipped for behaving so
recklessly!"[234]
At one point Gnathaena was having dinner at the
house of
the courtesan Dexithea,[235] and when Dexithea set
aside most
of the fish for her mother, Gnathaena said:
"By Artemis, if I'd been expecting this, I would've
had dinner with your mother rather than with you,
lady!"
After Gnathaena grew old and
was now, everyone agreed, as good as dead,
they say she went off to the marketplace
and was inspecting the delicacies and busily inquiring
how much

πωλεῖθ' ἕκαστον. εἶτ' ἰδοῦσα κατὰ τύχην
ἱστῶντα κρεοπώλην τιν' ἀστεῖον πάνυ |
d τῇ θ' ἡλικίᾳ σφόδρα νέον, "ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν
μειράκιον ὁ καλός," φησί, "πῶς ἵστης φράσον."
ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας, "κύβδ'", ἔφη, "τριωβόλου."
"τίς δ' οὐπιτρέψων ἐστί σοι," φησίν, "τάλαν,
ὄντα γ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Καρικοῖς χρῆσθαι
σταθμοῖς;"
Στρατοκλῆς δύ' ἐρίφους προῖκ' ἐδίδου τοῖς
γνωρίμοις
† λοπάδας συνάλμους τε συναρτύειν δοκῶν
καὶ διψᾶν ὑπολειπόμενοι εἰς τὴν αὔριον |
e τοῖς ἐπισυνάπτειν βουλομένοις τὸν ἑωθινόν †,
μακρὰς δὲ πράττειν εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ συμβολάς.
Γνάθαινα δ' αὐτῆς εἶπε πρὸς ἐραστήν τινα
στραγγευόμενον ὁρῶσα περὶ τὰς συμβολάς,
"Στρατοκλῆς ἐπ' ἐρίφοις", φησί, "χειμῶνας ποεῖ."
ἰδοῦσ' ἔφηβον ἡ Γνάθαιν' ἰσχνὸν πάνυ
καὶ μέλανα, λεπτόν θ' ὡς ἔοιχ' ὑπερβολῇ
καὶ † λιπαρόν †, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἐφήβων βραχύτερον,

236 Hsch. κ 818 (cf. κ 822) explains that "the Carian position" was a "shameful" sexual posture of some sort, presumably the one mentioned two lines earlier.

237 *PAA* 837400; also mentioned at Matro fr. 1.30, 122 Olson–Sens (quoted at 4.135b, 137c), and probably to be identified with the late 4th-century Athenian politician Stratocles son of Euthydemus of the deme Diomeia (*PAA* 837635; cf. 13.596f).

everything cost. Then, when she happened to notice
a butcher who was very cute and extremely
young standing there, she said: "By the gods,
handsome boy, tell me what price you're selling at."
He smiled and said: "Three obols, if I take it from
behind."
And she said: "Who gave you permission, you
bastard,
to use Carian standards when you're in Athens?"[236]
Stratocles[237] used to offer his friends two kids as a
gift
† and salted casserole-dishes, to season expecting
and to be thirsty being left over on the next day
for those who wanted to join in the one first thing in
the morning †,
but required substantial contributions for everything
else.
Gnathaena said to one of her lovers,
when she saw him haggling about how much he was
assessed:
"Stratocles is producing storms", she said, "over the
kids."[238]
When Gnathaena saw an ephebe[239] who was
extremely skinny
and tan, and apparently very scrawny
and † sleek †, as well as much shorter than the other
ephebes,

[238] A punning reference to a constellation known as "the Kids", which was associated with stormy weather (Theoc. 7.53–4 with Gow's n.).

[239] I.e. a young man 18 or 19 years old.

ἔσκωπτεν εἰς Ἄδωνιν. ἀναγώγως δέ πως |
f τοῦ μειρακίσκου καὶ τυραννικώτερον
αὐτῇ συναντήσαντος ἐμβλέψασα τῇ
θυγατρὶ μετ᾽ αὐτῆς συμπορευομένῃ λέγει·
"δικαιότερον ἦν, ὦ τέκνον, νὴ τὼ θεώ,

* * *

λέγουσι Ποντικόν τι μειρακύλλιον
ἀναπαυόμενον μετὰ τῆς Γναθαίνης ἀξιοῦν
πρωὶ γενόμενον ὥστε τὴν πυγὴν ἅπαξ
αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, τὴν δὲ τοῦτ᾽ εἰπεῖν· "τάλαν,
ἔπειτα τὴν πυγήν με νῦν αἰτεῖς, ὅτε ||
581 τὰς ὗς ἐπὶ νομὴν καιρός ἐστιν ἐξάγειν;"

καὶ Γναθαινίου δέ γε τῆς θυγατριδῆς αὐτῆς τάδε ἀναγράφει·

εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας παρεπιδημήσας ξένος
σατράπης πάνυ γέρων ὡς ἐνενήκουτ᾽ ‹ὢν› ἐτῶν
Κρονίοις ἀπιοῦσαν εἶδε τὴν Γναθαίνιον
μετὰ τῆς Γναθαίνης ἐξ Ἀφροδισίου τινός,
τό τ᾽ εἶδος αὐτῆς τοὺς ῥυθμούς τε καταμαθὼν
ἐπυνθάνετο μίσθωμα πράττεται πόσον |
b τῆς νυκτός, ἡ Γνάθαινα δ᾽ εἰς τὴν πορφύραν

[240] Adonis, one of Aphrodite's mortal lovers, was killed by a boar; cf. 2.69b–d with 2.69b n.; 13.566d. The comparison would not appear to have been intended kindly.

[241] Gulick suggested that the lost punchline was something like "to call him not Adonis, but the boar." The "two gods" by whom Gnathaena swears are Demeter and Persephone.

she made a joke about Adonis.[240] When the boy
responded rather crudely and
insolently to her, she looked at her
daughter, who was out walking with her, and said:
"It would have been more appropriate, by the two
gods, my child,[241]

* * *

They say that a boy from Pontus
was sleeping with Gnathaena, and when the morning
came, he asked her to let him have anal sex
with her just once. She said the following: "You
bastard—
you're asking me for my ass now, when
it's time to drive the pigs[242] out to feed?"

Macho (333–401 Gow) also records the following anecdotes about Gnathaena's daughter Gnathaenion:[243]

A very old satrap—he was about 90—
from abroad was visiting Athens
and saw Gnathaenion at the Cronia festival, as she
was leaving
a shrine of Aphrodite accompanied by Gnathaena.
After he studied the way she looked and moved,
he asked how much she charged
per night, and Gnathaena glanced at his purple
clothing

[242] Although Gnathaena says *hus* ("pig"), the humor depends on a colloquial sense of *choiros* (literally "piglet"), which means "cunt" at Ar. *Ach.* 767–96.

[243] *PAA* 278850.

καὶ τὰ δόρατ' ἀποβλέψασα δραχμὰς χιλίας
ἔταξεν. ὁ δ' ἄφνω καιρίμην πληγείς, "παπαῖ,
ζωγρεῖς, γύναι," φήσ', "ἕνεκα τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ,
μνᾶς πραξαμένη δὲ πέντε τὰς σπονδὰς ποοῦ
καὶ στρῶσον ἡμῖν ἔνδον." ἡ δ' ἐπιδέξιον
βουλόμενον εἶναι τὸν σατράπην ἀπεδέξατο, |
c εἶπεν δέ, "< . . . > δὸς ὅσον ἐπιθυμεῖς, πάτερ·
οἶδα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς καὶ πέποιθα τοῦθ' ὅτι
εἰς νύκτ' ἀποδώσεις τῷ θυγατρίῳ μου διπλοῦν."
ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις χαλκοτύπος σφόδρ' εὐφυὴς
καταλελυκυίας τῆς Γναθαινίου σχεδὸν
οὐκέτι θ' ἑταιρεῖν ὑπομενούσης διὰ τό πως
τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον ἡδέως αὐτῆς ἔχειν
τὸν ὑποκριτήν, τότε δ' ὄντος ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ |
d ἐξ οὗ γεγονὸς ἦν ἄρρεν αὐτῷ παιδίον,
οὐχ ὑπομένουσαν τὴν Γναθαίνιον λαβεῖν
μίσθωμα, λιπαρῶν δὲ καὶ προσκείμενος
πολὺ δαπανήσας ἔσχεν αὐτὴν χρυσίον.
ἀνάγωγος ὢν δὲ καὶ βάναυσος παντελῶς
ἐν σκυτοτομείῳ μετά τινων καθήμενος
κατεσχόλαζε † τῆς Γναθαινίου λέγων †
ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ μὲν συγγεγενῆσθαι μηδενί, |
e ἑξῆς καθιππάσθαι δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς πεντάκις.

244 I.e. 500 drachmas, half what Gnathaena asked.

245 Sc. because of what Gnathaena assumes will be his inability to maintain an erection.

246 O'Connor #29; Stephanis #179; *PAA* 128692.

and his bodyguard, and set the price at 1000
drachmas. He was struck a deadly blow and
immediately said:
"Damn, woman! You're keeping me alive to get the
money I have for my troops!
Take five *minas*,[244] and conclude a truce with me
and get our bed ready inside!" Since the satrap
was trying to be urbane, she accepted his offer,
but said: "Pay her whatever you like, old sir;
because I know for certain, and I'm confident of this,
that
you'll double what you give my daughter tonight!"[245]
There was a extremely handsome bronze-smith in
Athens;
Gnathaenion was living very close to his place
and was no longer willing to work as a prostitute,
because
the actor Andronicus[246] was sweet
on her, although he was out of the country at that
point,
ever since a male child had been born to him.
Although Gnathaenion was no longer interested in
being paid for her services, by begging and insisting
and spending a lot of money the bronze-smith got
her.
He was a crude and thoroughly low-class individual,
and as he was sitting with some people in a
shoemaker's shop,
he passed the time † of Gnathaenion saying †
that he hadn't had sex with her any other way,
but that she'd ridden him like a horse five times in a
row.

μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἀνδρόνικος τὸ γεγονὸς
ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου προσφάτως ἀφιγμένος
< . . . > πικρῶς τε λοιδορούμενος
παρὰ τὸν πότον ταῦτ' ἔλεγε τῇ Γναθαινίῳ·
αὐτὸν μὲν ἀξιοῦντα μὴ τετευχέναι
τούτου παρ' αὐτῆς μηδέποτε τοῦ σχήματος,
ἐν τῷδε δ' ἑτέρους ἐντρυφᾶν μαστιγίας.
ἔπειτεν εἰπεῖν φασι τὴν Γναθαίνιον, |
f "περιλαμβάνειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον, τάλαν,
ἄνθρωπον ἄχρι τοῦ στόματος ἠσβολωμένον.
διὰ τοῦθ' ὑπέμεινα πολὺ λαβοῦσα χρυσίον
ἐφιλοσόφησά θ', ἵν' ἄκρον ὡς μάλιστα καὶ
ἐλάχιστον αὐτοῦ περιλάβω τοῦ σώματος."
ἔπειτα, φασί, τῆς Γναθαινίου ποτὲ
τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον οὐ θελούσης παρὰ πότον ||
582 φιλεῖν καθάπερ ταῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις ἀεί,
ὀργιζομένης δὲ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν λαμβάνειν,
† ἔπειθε πῶς † "οὐχ ὁρᾷς, Γνάθαιν'," ἔφη,
"ὑπερηφάνως μοι τὴν θυγατέρα χρωμένην;"
ἡ γραῦς δ' ἀγανακτήσασα, "τάλαν", ἔφη,
"τέκνον·
περίλαβε", φησί, "καὶ φίλησον, εἰ θέλεις."

Afterward, when Andronicus, who had just returned
from Corinth, heard what had happened
. . . and ranted bitterly,
saying the following to Gnathaenion at a drinking
party:
although he had asked, she had never
let him do it in that position,
but other people—scum—had enjoyed this.
Then, they say, Gnathaenion responded:
"Yes, because I didn't like the idea, you bastard, of
wrapping my arms around
someone who was covered with soot from head to
foot.
That's why I put up with it only after I got a lot of
money,
and I figured out a clever way to take hold of the
smallest part
of his anatomy and the one that stuck the furthest
out."
At some point after this, they say, Gnathaenion
refused to kiss Andronicus at a drinking party
in the way she always had on previous days,
since she was angry because he wasn't giving her
anything.
† He convinced how † "Gnathaena," he said, "don't
you see
that your daughter's acting like she's too good for
me?"
The old woman was annoyed and said: "Damn it,
child—
hug him", she said, "and kiss him, please!"

ἡ δ' εἶπε, "μῆτερ, πῶς", ἔφη, "μέλλω φιλεῖν
τὸν μηδὲν ὠφέλημα, τὸν ὑπὸ τὰς στέγας
τὸ κοῖλον Ἄργος δωρεὰν θέλοντ' ἔχειν;" |
b πανηγύρεως οὔσης ποθ' ἡ Γναθαίνιον
εἰς Πειραιᾶ κατέβαινε πρὸς ξένον τινὰ
ἔμπορον ἐραστὴν εὐσταλῶς ἐπ' ἀστράβης
τὰ πάντ' ἔχουσ' ὀνάρια μεθ' ἑαυτῆς τρία
καὶ τρεῖς θεραπαίνας καὶ νέαν τίτθην μίαν.
ἔπειτεν αὐταῖς ἐπί τινος στενῆς ὁδοῦ
κακὸς παλαιστὴς ἐνέτυχέν τις τῶν ἀεὶ
ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν † ἐπιμελῶς † ἠττωμένων,
ὃς οὐ δυνάμενος τότε παρελθεῖν ῥᾳδίως
ἀλλὰ στενοχωρῶν εἶπεν, "ὦ τρισάθλιε |
c ὀνηλάτ', εἰ μὴ θᾶττον ἐκστήσῃ ποτὲ
ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, τὰ γύναια ταυτὶ καταβαλῶ
σὺν τοῖς ὀναρίοις", φησί, "καὶ ταῖς ἀστράβαις."
Γναθαίνιον δ' εἶπ', "ὦ τάλαν, μὴ δῆτ', ἄνερ·
οὐδέποτε γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐστί σοι πεπραγμένον."

ἑξῆς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀναγράφει·

Λαΐδα λέγουσι τὴν Κορινθίαν ποτὲ
Εὐριπίδην ἰδοῦσαν ἐν κήπῳ τινὶ
πινακίδα καὶ γραφεῖον ἐξηρτημένον

[247] Probably paratragic, and thus appropriate to refer to a tragic actor (cf. 13.581c n.).

[248] Paratragic (e.g. S. *OC* 378, 1387; cf. previous n.), and apparently used by Gnathaenion as a euphemism for her vagina.

And Gnathaenion replied: "Mother, do you expect me
to kiss
this worthless knave,[247] who wants to have
hollow Argos[248] within his house for free?"
At one point there was a festival, and Gnathaenion
went down to the Piraeus to visit a trader from
another city
who was her lover, lying on a fancy litter, with
a total of three donkeys, three servant-girls,
and a single young nurse[249] accompanying her.
Then a bad wrestler—one of those who always
† carefully † lose their matches—met
them at a narrow point in the road;
and when he was then unable to get past them easily
and lacked enough room, he said: "Fucking
donkey-driver—if you don't get out of the road
immediately, I'll throw these women down,
along with your donkeys and your litters!"
And Gnathaenion said: "No you won't, you poor
bastard;
you've never managed to throw *anyone* down."

And immediately after this he records the following (Macho 402–62 Gow):

At one point, they say, Laïs of Corinth
saw Euripides in a garden
with his writing table and his stylus

[249] I.e. for Andronicus' son (mentioned above). Exactly how the group is supposed to be organized is unclear, but most likely Gnathaenion is on a litter on the back of one donkey, and her companions share the other two donkeys and litters.

ἔχοντ', "ἀπόκριναι," φησίν, "ὦ ποιητά μοι, |
d τί βουλόμενος ἔγραψας ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ
"ἔρρ', αἰσχροποιέ";" καταπλαγεὶς δ' Εὐριπίδης
τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῆς, "σὺ γάρ", ἔφη, "τίς εἶ, γύναι;
‹οὐκ› αἰσχροποιός;" ἡ δὲ γελάσασ' ἀπεκρίθη,
"τί δ' αἰσχρόν, εἰ μὴ τοῖσι χρωμένοις δοκεῖ;"
ἡ Γλυκέριον λαβοῦσα παρ' ἐραστοῦ τινος
Κορίνθιον παράπηχυ καινὸν λῆδιον
ἔδωκεν εἰς κναφεῖον, εἶτ' ἐπεὶ τέλος
ἔδοξ' ἔχειν, πέμψασα τὴν θεραπαινίδα
τὸ μισθάριον ἔχουσαν ἐκέλευ' ἀποφέρειν |
e θοἰμάτιον. ὁ κναφεὺς δ' εἶπεν, "ἄν γ' ἐλᾳδίου
ταρτημόριά μοι", φησί, "προσενέγκῃς τρία,
κόμισαι· τὸ κωλῦον γάρ ἐστι τοῦτό με."
ἡ δ' ὡς ἀπήγγειλ', "‹ὦ› τάλαιν'", εἶπεν, "κακῶν,"
ἡ Γλυκέριον, "μέλλει γὰρ ὥσπερ μαινίδας
ἀποτηγανίζειν", φησί, "μου τὸ λῆδιον."
ὁ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους Δημοφῶν ἐρώμενος
τὴν Αἶγα Νικὼ πρεσβυτέραν οὖσαν τότε
νέος ὢν ἔτ' αὐτὸς εἶχεν· ἐπεκαλεῖτο δ' Ἀΐξ. |

250 *Medea* 1346 (performed in 431 BCE), converted here into a deliberate insult.

251 = E. fr. 19 (from *Aeolus*; probably mid-/late-420s BCE).

252 *PAA* 277790. 253 Sc. to be cleaned.

254 Oil is not elsewhere said to be used by fullers to clean fabric, and (as Kaibel saw) there is apparently a pun on *eladion* ("olive oil") and *lêidion* ("spring dress"), given that the latter word represents something approximating three-quarters of the former. But precisely what the joke is, is unclear.

attached to it, and she said: "Tell me, Mr. Poet—
What did you mean when you wrote in your tragedy,
'Go to hell, you pervert!'?"[250] Euripides was astonished
at her audacity, and said: "Who are you, woman?
Aren't *you* a pervert?" And she laughed and responded:
"'What's perverted, if it doesn't seem that way those who do it?'"[251]
Glycerion[252] got a fashionable Corinthian spring dress
with a purple stripe from one of her lovers
and sent it to the fuller;[253] then, when it should
have been ready, she sent her little servant-girl
with the money, and told her to bring the robe
back. But the fuller said: "If you also
bring me three-quarters of a measure of olive oil,
you can have it; because that's what's holding me up."[254]
When the girl brought this message back, Glycerion said:
"Damn, what a mess! He's planning to fry up
my dress", she said, "like a bunch of sprats!"
Sophocles' (test. 79) boyfriend Demophon[255]
was involved with Nico[256]—that is, Aix—even though she was quite old
at that point and he himself was still a young man.
She was nicknamed Aix[257]

[255] *PAA* 321632.
[256] *PAA* 719540.
[257] Literally "She-goat, Nanny-goat."

f ὅτι τὸν μέγαν <δὴ> κατέφαγεν ἐραστήν ποτε
Θαλλόν· παρεγενήθη γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
ὠνησόμενος χελιδονείους ἰσχάδας
Ὑμήττιόν τε φορτιούμενος μέλι.
λέγεται δ' ἐκείνην τὴν γυναῖκ' ἐσχηκέναι
πυγὴν πάνυ καλὴν ἥν ποτ' ἠξίου λαβεῖν
ὁ Δημοφῶν. ἡ δ' εἶπε γελάσασ', "εὖ <γ'>, ἵνα ||
583 Σοφοκλεῖ λαβὼν δῷς", φησί, "παρ' ἐμοῦ,
φίλτατε."
Καλλιστίου δὲ τῆς Ὑὸς καλουμένης
πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς λοιδορουμένης ποτὲ
μητέρα—Κορώνη δ' ἐπεκαλεῖτο τοὔνομα—
διέλυεν ἡ Γνάθαιν'. ἐρωτηθεῖσα δὲ
τί διαφέρονται, "τί γάρ", ἔφησεν, "ἄλλο πλὴν
ἄλλ' ἡ Κορώνη, θάτερ' ἐκείνη μέμφεται;"
Ἵππην λέγουσι τὴν ἑταίραν Θεόδοτον
ἔχειν ἐραστὴν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ χόρτου τότε
γενόμενον. αὕτη δ' ὀψὲ τῆς ὥρας ποτὲ |
b εἰσῆλθεν ἐπὶ κώθωνα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
Πτολεμαῖον—εἰώθει δὲ συμπίνειν ἀεὶ
αὐτῷ. λέγει δ' οὖν ὑστεροῦσα παρὰ πολύ,

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258 I.e. "consumed all the property of."

259 *PAA* 500650; his name is literally "Green Branch". Cf. 13.587a. 260 Two of Attica's most famous products, making it clear that Thallus had a taste for the fine things in life.

261 *PAA* 560171. 262 Literally "Pig"; but see 13.581a n.

263 Literally "Raven" (hence the witticism below); *PAA* 582910.

because she once gobbled up[258] a wealthy lover
named Thallus,[259] who came to Attica
to buy swallow-figs
and to take home Hymettan honey.[260]
The story goes that this woman had
a gorgeous ass, and that Demophon at one point
asked to have access
to it. She laughed and said: "Fine—but
after you get it, pass it on to Sophocles with my
compliments, sweetie!"
At one point Callistion[261]—also known as Hus[262]—
was exchanging angry words with her
mother—the mother's nickname was Corone[263]—
and Gnathaena tried to break it up. When someone
asked her
what they were arguing about, she said: "What else,
except that
Corone was blaming Gnathaena for this, and
Gnathaena was blaming Corone for that?"[264]
They say that the courtesan Hippe had as a lover
Theodotus, who was at that point in charge
of the fodder.[265] Late in the day one time
she came in to drink with King
Ptolemy[266]—she routinely drank
with him. She was running extremely late, and she
said:

264 Alluding to the proverb "An owl says one thing, a raven something else", which Zenob. 1.69 glosses: "referring to people who disagree with one another".

265 Sc. for the royal stables in Alexandria (see below).

266 Perhaps Ptolemy II Philadelphus (thus Gow).

"Πτολεμαῖε, διψῶ," φησί, "παππία, σφόδρα·
ἀλλ' ἐγχεέτω μοι τέτταρας κοτύλας † ἔπειτα †
εἰς τὴν μεγάλην." ἔπειτεν ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει,
"εἰς τὴν λεκάνην μὲν οὖν, δοκεῖς γάρ μοι πολύν,
Ἵππη, πάνυ χόρτον", φησί, "καταβεβρωκέναι."
Φρύνην ἐπείρα Μοίριχος τὴν Θεσπικήν |
c καὔπειτεν αἰτήσασαν αὐτὸν μνᾶν μίαν
ὁ Μοίριχος, "μέγ'," εἶπεν. "οὐ πρῴην δύο
χρυσοῦς λαβοῦσα παρεγένου ξένῳ τινί;"
"περίμενε τοίνυν καὶ σύ," φησ', "ἕως ἂν οὗ
βινητιάσω, καὶ τοσοῦτον λήψομαι."
Νικὼ λέγεται τὴν Αἶγα, Πύθωνός τινος
αὐτήν ποτ' ἀπολιπόντος, Εὔαρδιν δὲ τὴν
παχεῖαν ἀναλαβόντος, εἶτεν ὕστερον
μεταπεμπομένου ποθ', ὡς ἔοικ', αὐτήν, λέγειν
πρὸς τὸν μετιόντα παῖδα, "Πύθων," φήσ', "ἐπεὶ |
d ἤδη διάμεστος τῶν ὑείων ἐγένετο,
ἐπ' αἴγε' οἷός ἐστιν ἀνακάμπτειν πάλιν."

μέχρι μὲν τούτων μνημονεύω τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάχωνος εἰρημένων· αἱ γὰρ καλαὶ ἡμῶν Ἀθῆναι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἤνεγκαν ἑταιρῶν, περὶ ὧν ἐπεξελεύσομαι ὅσον γε δύναμαι, ὅσον ὄχλον εὐανδροῦσα πόλις οὐκ ἔσχεν.

267 *PAA* 964975. 268 *PAA* 795375.

269 Literally "She-Goat" (cf. 13.582e–f), setting up the witticism that follows. 270 *PAA* 426575.

271 Literally "our"; but the speaker is in any case nominally Myrtilus (cf. 13.571a), who comes from Thessaly.

"Ptolemy—I'm really thirsty," she said, "pops.
Have him pour me four ladles † then †
into the big cup!" After which the king said:
"He can pour it into the basin; because it seems to
me,
Hippe," he said, "that you've consumed quite a lot of
fodder."
Moerichus was trying to get Phryne of Thespiae[267]
into bed,
and then, when she asked him him for a *mina*,
Moerichus said: "That's a lot; didn't you settle for two
gold (staters) when you slept with some foreigner the
other day?"
She said: "Well then, you can hang around too, until
I feel like getting fucked—and then I'll take that
much."
The story goes that, when at one point a certain
Python[268]
left Nico—also known as Aix[269]—and took up with a
fat
woman named Euardis,[270] and then later on
at some point, apparently, tried to get Nico to visit
him, she said
to the slave who came to fetch her: "Now that
Python's full of pork," she said,
"he'd like to come back for some goat-meat!"

Up to this point I have mentioned the women referred to by Macho; because my[271] lovely Athens produced a larger number of courtesans—about whom I will go on to say as much as I can—than any other city full of men ever did.

ἀναγέγραφε γοῦν Ἀριστοφάνης μὲν ὁ Βυζάντιος ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε, Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ τούτων πλείους, ὁ Γοργίας δὲ πλέονας, παραλειφθῆναι φάσκοντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους μετὰ | ἑταιρῶν πλειόνων καὶ τάσδε, < . . . > τὴν Πάροινον ἐπικληθεῖσαν καὶ Λαμπυρίδα καὶ Εὐφροσύνην· αὕτη δὲ ἦν γναφέως θυγάτηρ. ἄγραφοι δ' εἰσὶν αὐτῷ Μεγίστη, Ἀγαλλίς, Θαυμάριον, Θεόκλεια (αὕτη δ' ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κορώνη), Ληναιτόκυστος, Ἄστρα, Γνάθαινα καὶ ταύτης θυγατριδῆ Γναθαίνιον, καὶ Σιγὴ καὶ Συνωρὶς ἡ Λύχνος ἐπικαλουμένη καὶ Εὔκλεια καὶ Γρυμέα καὶ Θρυαλλίς, ἔτι Χίμαιρα καὶ Λαμπάς. τῆς δὲ Γναθαίνης ἥρα δεινῶς, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται, Δίφιλος ὁ κωμῳδιοποιός, ὡς καὶ Λυγκεὺς ὁ | Σάμιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἱστορεῖ. ἐν ἀγῶνι οὖν ποτε αὐτὸν ἀσχημονήσαντα σφόδρα ἀρθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου συνέβη καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν Γνάθαιναν. κελεύοντος οὖν τοῦ Διφίλου ὑπονίψαι τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ τὴν Γνάθαιναν, ἡ δέ, "τί γάρ;" εἶπεν· "οὐκ ἠρμένος ἥκεις;" σφόδρα δ' ἦν εὔθικτος πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἡ Γνάθαινα. καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ ἑταῖραι μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐφ' αὑταῖς, παιδείας ἀντεχόμεναι καὶ τοῖς μαθήμασι χρόνον ἀπομερίζουσαι· διόπερ καὶ εὔθικτοι πρὸς τὰς ἀπαντήσεις

272 Cf. 13.567a n.

273 Paroinos (literally "Under the Influence, Drunk") is *PAA* 767463; Lampyris is *PAA* 601650; and Euphrosyne is *PAA* 451287.

Aristophanes of Byzantium (*FGrH* 347 T 2 = fr. 364b Slater), at any rate, lists 135, and Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244 F 208) lists more than that, and Gorgias (*FGrH* 351 T 2) even more, both claiming that among the many courtesans omitted by Aristophanes are the following:[272] . . . (who was nicknamed Paroinos), Lampyris, and Euphrosyne;[273] the latter was a fuller's daughter. He also fails to list: Megiste, Agallis, Thaumarion, Theocleia (she was nicknamed Corone), Lenaetocystus, Astra, Gnathaena and her daughter Gnathaenion, and Sige, Synoris (nicknamed Lychnus), Eucleia, Grymea, and Thryallis, as well as Chimaera and Lampas.[274] As was noted earlier,[275] the comic poet Diphilus was deeply in love with Gnathaena, as Lynceus of Samos reports in his *Memoirs* (fr. 23 Dalby = Diph. test. 7). It happened at one point, therefore, after he thoroughly disgraced himself and had been thrown out of the Theater, that Diphilus went to visit Gnathaena anyway. So when he asked Gnathaena to wash his feet, she said: "Why? Didn't you travel here by air?" Gnathaena was very good at generating witty responses. There were also other courtesans who thought a lot of themselves, and who tried to get an education and devoted time to their lessons; as a result, they too were capable of generating witty responses. On

[274] Megiste is *PAA* 636705; Agallis is *PAA* 105710; Thaumarion is *PAA* 501243; Theocleia is *PAA* 507884; Lenaetocystus is *PAA* 607695; Astra is *PAA* 222870; Gnathaena is *PAA* 278790; Gnathaenion is *PAA* 278850; Sige is *PAA* 819560; Synoris is *PAA* 853365; Eucleia is *PAA* 435690; Grymea is *PAA* 281958; Thryallis is *PAA* 518755; Chimaera is *PAA* 989805; and Lampas is *PAA* 601507.

[275] 13.579e, where see n.

584 ἦσαν. || κατηγοροῦντος γοῦν ποτε Στίλπωνος Γλυκέρας παρὰ πότον ὡς διαφθειρούσης τοὺς νέους, ὥς φησι Σάτυρος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις, ὑποτυχοῦσα ἡ Γλυκέρα, "τὴν αὐτήν", ἔφη, "ἔχομεν αἰτίαν, ὦ Στίλπων. σέ τε γὰρ λέγουσιν διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντάς σοι ἀνωφελῆ καὶ ἐριστικὰ σοφίσματα διδάσκοντα, ἐμέ τε ὡσαύτως. μηθὲν οὖν διαφέρειν ἐπιτριβομένους καὶ κακῶς πάσχουσιν ἢ μετὰ φιλοσόφου ζῆν ἢ ἑταίρας." κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἀγάθωνα·

γυνή τ<οι> σώματ<ος> δι' ἀργίαν |
b ψυχῆς φρόνησιν ἐντὸς οὐκ ἀργὸν φορεῖ.

Γναθαίνης δὲ πολλὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Λυγκεύς. παρασίτου γάρ τινος ὑπὸ γραὸς τρεφομένου καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὖ ἔχοντος, "χαριέντως γ'," ἔφη, "ὦ νεανίσκε, τὸ σωμάτιον διάκεισαι." "τί οὖν οἴει, εἰ μὴ ἐδευτεροκοίτουν;" "τῷ λιμῷ ἄν", ἔφη, "ἀπέθανες." Παυσανίου δὲ τοῦ Λάκκου ὀρχουμένου καὶ εἰς κάδον τινὰ ἐμπεσόντος, "ὁ Λάκκος", ἔφη, "εἰς τὸν κάδον ἐμπέπτωκεν." ἐπιδόντος δέ τινος οἶνον ἐν ψυκτηριδίῳ μικρὸν
c καὶ εἰπόντος ὅτι ἑκκαιδεκαέτης, | "μικρός γε," ἔφη, "ὡς τοσούτων ἐτῶν." νεανίσκων δέ τινων παρὰ πότον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τυπτόντων ἑαυτοὺς ἔφη πρὸς τὸν ἡττώμενον,

[276] Stilpo (*PAA* 835530; d. early 200s BCE) was the final head of the Megarian school of philosophy.

[277] *PAA* 277490.

[278] Picking up the point about educated courtesans made

one occasion, for example, when Stilpo[276] (fr. 157 Döring = *SSR* II O 18) criticized Glycera[277] at a drinking party for corrupting the young men, according to Satyrus in his *Lives* (fr. 19, *FHG* iii.164 = fr. 19 Schorn), she replied: "We get accused of the same thing, Stilpo. People claim you corrupt those who meet you, by teaching them your worthless eristic drivel; and they criticize me the same way. So it makes no difference to individuals who are being ruined and injured if they spend their time with a philosopher or with a courtesan." Because, to quote Agathon (*TrGF* 39 F 14):[278]

> The fact that a woman does no physical labor
> does not mean she has a lazy mind inside her.

Lynceus (fr. 24 Dalby) recorded many of Gnathaena's responses. When a parasite was being kept by an old woman, for example, and had put on weight, she said: "Young man, you're in lovely shape!" "How do you think I'd look, if I were sleeping alone?" "You'd have starved to death," she said. When Pausanias[279] (known as "the Cistern") was dancing and fell into a wine-jar, she said: "The Cistern's fallen into the wine-jar!"[280] When someone gave her a tiny quantity of wine in a cooling-vessel and announced that it was 16 years old, she said: "It's awfully small, for being as old as that!" When some young men at a drinking party got into a fistfight over her, she said to the loser: "Cheer up,

above, the anecdote about Glycera having been inserted from a different source-document.

279 *PAA* 769440. His nickname presumably reflects his ability to hold enormous amounts of wine.

280 Sc. as opposed to the other way around.

"θάρρει, παιδίον· οὐ γὰρ στεφανίτης ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀργυρίτης." ὡς δ' ὁ τὴν μνᾶν τῇ θυγατρὶ δοὺς αὐτῆς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔφερεν, ἀλλ' ἐφοίτα μόνον, "παιδίον," ἔφη," ὥσπερ πρὸς Ἱππόμαχον τὸν παιδοτρίβην μνᾶν δοὺς οἴει αἰεὶ φοιτήσειν;" Φρύνης δὲ πικρότερον εἰπούσης αὐτῇ, "εἰ δὲ λίθον εἶχες;", ἔφη· "ἀποψήσασθαι ἄν σοι ἔδωκα." (ἐτύγχανεν δὲ ἡ μὲν αἰτίαν ἔχουσα λι-
d θιᾶν, | ἡ δὲ κοιλίαν προπετεστέραν ἔχειν.) τῶν δὲ πινόντων παρ' αὐτῇ συμβαλλομένων εἰς βολβοφακῆν καὶ τῆς παιδίσκης ἐν τῷ καθαίρειν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ἐμβαλλομένης τῶν φακῶν, ἡ Γνάθαινα ἔφη, "κολποφακῆν διανοεῖται ποιεῖν." Ἀνδρονίκου δὲ τοῦ τραγῳδοῦ ἀπ' ἀγῶνός τινος, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς Ἐπιγόνους εὐημερήκει, πίνειν μέλλοντος παρ' αὐτῇ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς κελεύοντος τὴν Γνάθαιναν προαναλῶσαι,

ὀλόμενε παίδων (ἔφη), ποῖον εἴρηκας λόγον;

πρὸς δὲ ἀδολέσχην τινὰ διηγούμενον ὅτι παραγέγο-
e νεν | ἀφ' Ἑλλησπόντου, "πῶς οὖν", φησίν, "εἰς τὴν πρώτην πόλιν οὐχ ἥκες τῶν ἐκεῖ;" τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος, "εἰς

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281 The wit of Gnathaena's remark depends on the distinction between normal athletic competitions, at which cash-prizes and the like were offered, and the most important and prestigious games, at which winners received only a garland—and the glory that went with being e.g. an Olympic victor. For the distinction between the two types of contests, cf. 12.522e–d.

282 Gnathaenion.

283 *PAA* 538715; perhaps to be identified with Moretti #506.

kiddo! There's no glory in this contest; it's a matter of cash."[281] When someone who had paid her daughter[282] a *mina* failed to bring any more money, but simply continued to visit her, she said: "Kiddo—do you think it's like visiting the trainer Hippomachus,[283] and you get to keep coming here forever, just because you gave her a *mina*?" When Phryne rather nastily said to her, "And if you'd had a stone?", she responded: "I'd have given it to you—to wipe yourself!" (One of them was thought to have kidney stones, the other to suffer from diarrhea.)[284] When the men drinking in her house contributed money for bulb-and-lentil soup, and the slave-girl hid some of the lentils in her cleavage while she was cleaning them,[285] Phryne said: "She's planning to make boob-and-lentil soup." When the tragic actor Andronicus[286] intended to drink with Gnathaena after a performance in which he had a success with *The Epigoni*, and his slave asked her to put up the money in advance, she said (S. fr. **185):[287]

Wretched slave—what is this that you have said?

To a talkative man who told her that he was visiting from the Hellespont, she said: "So how is it, then, that you've never visited the most important city in the area?" When

[284] Cf. 13.578e with n.

[285] Sc. so that she would have them to eat herself afterward.

[286] Cf. 13.581c n.

[287] The otherwise gratuitous reference to *The Epigoni* would seem to guarantee that that play is the source of the quotation (the first words of which in the original must have meant "Wretched child"); but Aeschylus and Astydamas II (and doubtless other poets as well) also produced plays by the same title.

ποίαν;", "εἰς Σίγειον" εἶπεν. εἰσελθόντος δέ τινος ὡς αὐτὴν καὶ ἰδόντος ἐπί τινος ἀγγείου ᾠὰ εἰπόντος τε, "ὠμὰ ταῦτα, Γνάθαινα, ἢ ἑφθά;", "ἔγχαλκα," ἔφη, "παιδίον." Χαιρεφῶντος δ' ἀκλήτου ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐλθόντος, προπιοῦσα ποτήριον αὐτῷ ἡ Γνάθαινα, "λαβέ," ἔφησεν, "ὑπερήφανε." καὶ ὅς, "ἐγὼ ὑπερήφανος;", "τίς δὲ μᾶλλον," εἶπεν ἡ Γνάθαινα, "ὃς οὐδὲ καλούμενος ἔρχῃ;" Νικὼ δὲ ἡ Αἶξ ἐπικαλουμένη, φησὶν ὁ Λυγ-
f κεύς, παρασίτου | τινὸς ἀπαντήσαντος λεπτοῦ ἐξ ἀρρωστίας, "ὡς ἰσχνός," ἔφη. "τί γὰρ οἴει με ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις καταβεβρωκέναι;" "ἤτοι τὴν λήκυθον", ἔφη, "ἢ τὰ ὑποδήματα." Μετάνειρα δὲ ἡ ἑταίρα, Δημοκλέους τοῦ παρασίτου Λαγυνίωνος ἐπίκλην καταπεσόντος ἔν τινι κονιάματι, "καὶ γὰρ σύ", φησί, "σαυτὸν ἔδωκας οὗ ψῆφοι εἰσίν." διαπηδῶντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πλησίον κλίνην, "πρόσεχε," φησί, "μὴ ἀνατραπῇς."
585 τοῦτο ἱστορεῖ Ἡγήσανδρος. || Ἀριστόδημος δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Γελοίων Ἀπομνημονευμάτων, Γνάθαιναν, φησί, δύο ἐμισθώσαντο, στρατιώτης καὶ μαστιγίας· ἀναγωγότερον οὖν τοῦ στρατιώτου λάκκον αὐτὴν εἰπόντος, "πῶς;" ἔφησεν· "ἢ ὅτι δύο ποταμοὶ ἐμβάλλετέ μοι,

288 Literally "Sigeum" (with a pun on *sigê*, "silence").

289 I.e. "You'll have to pay to eat them."

290 *PAA* 975770; a notorious parasite and the subject of a collection of anecdotes preserved at 6.242f–4a, 245a.

291 The Greek can mean both "when you don't come, although invited" and "when you come, without being invited."

292 Cf. 13.582e–f with n.

he responded: "Which one's that?", she said: "Silencia."[288] When a man visiting her house saw some eggs in a bowl and asked: "Are these uncooked, Gnathaena, or hard-boiled?", she replied: "They're bronzed, kiddo."[289] When Chaerephon[290] came to dinner uninvited, Gnathaena offered him a cup of wine and said: "Take it, snob!" And when he said: "I'm a snob?", Gnathaena replied: "Who could be more of one, given that an invitation doesn't bring you here?"[291] According to Lynceus (fr. 25 Dalby), when a parasite who was thin because he had been sick bumped into Nico (nicknamed Aix),[292] she said: "How skinny you are!" "Yeah—what do you think I've had to eat the past three days?" "Either your oilflask", she said, "or your shoes." When the parasite Democles[293] (nicknamed Lagunion) fell into some stucco, the courtesan Metaneira[294] said: "Good for you—you've put yourself where pebbles are available."[295] And when he hopped over onto the couch next to hers, she said: "Watch out—don't turn it over!"[296] This story comes from Hegesander (fr. 28, *FHG* iv.419). Aristodemus says in Book II of the *Humorous Memoirs* (fr. 9, *FHG* iii.310): Two men, a soldier and common criminal, hired Gnathaena. When the soldier referred to her rather crudely as a "cistern",[297] she said: "Why? Because two

[293] *PAA* 315570; perhaps the same man as the Democles (*PAA* 315565) mentioned in Anaxandr. fr. 35 (preserved at 6.242d–e). His nickname is cognate with *lagunos*, "flask".

[294] *PAA* 647752. [295] Pebbles were used for voting tokens in court—where, Metaneira, implies, Democles is soon going to end up for one reason or another.

[296] But also "Don't turn me"—i.e. "my stomach"—"over!"

[297] I.e. because her vagina was so large and loose.

Λύκος καὶ Ἐλεύθερος;" ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα τῆς Γναθαίνης πτωχῶν ἐραστῶν κωμαζόντων καὶ ἀπειλούντων κατασκάψειν τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐνηνοχέναι γὰρ δικέλλας <καὶ>[34] ἄμας, "εἰ ταῦτ' εἶχεθ' ὑμεῖς," εἶπεν ἡ Γνάθαινα, b "ἐνέχυρα θέντες | τὸ μίσθωμα ἂν ἀπεστείλατε." ἐμμελὴς δ' ἦν πάνυ ἡ Γνάθαινα καὶ οὐκ ἀνάστειος ἀποφθέγξασθαι, ἥτις καὶ νόμον συσσιτικὸν συνέγραψεν, καθ' ὃν δεῖ τοὺς ἐραστὰς ὡς αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα εἰσιέναι, κατὰ ζῆλον τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα συνταξαμένων φιλοσόφων. ἀνέγραψε δ' αὐτὸν Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ πίνακι τῶν Νόμων καὶ ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ τήνδε παρέθετο· ὅδε ὁ νόμος ἴσος ἐγράφη καὶ ὅμοιος, στίχων τριακοσίων εἴκοσι τριῶν. Καλλίστιον δὲ τὴν c ἐπικληθεῖσαν Πτωχελένην | μαστιγίας ἐμισθώσατο. θέρους δὲ ὄντος ἐπεὶ γυμνὸς κατέκειτο, τοὺς τύπους τῶν πληγῶν ἰδοῦσα, "πόθεν οὗτοι, τάλαν;" εἶπε. καὶ ὅς, "παιδὸς ὄντος μου ζωμὸς κατεχύθη." ἡ δέ, "δηλαδὴ μόσχειος." Μενάνδρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ δυσημερήσαντι καὶ εἰσελθόντι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Γλυκέρα προσενέγκασα γάλα παρεκάλει ῥοφῆσαι. ὁ δ', "οὐ θέλω," εἶπεν· ἦν γὰρ ἐφεστηκυῖα γραῦς αὐτῷ. ἡ δέ, "ἀποφύσα", εἶπε,

[34] add. Schweighäuser

[295] Literally "the Wolf and the Free Man", with the criminal presumably being the former, the soldier the latter; but the exact point of the remark is obscure.

[299] Gnathaenion (*PAA* 278850); cf. 13.581a.

[300] *PAA* 560170; perhaps to be identified with the woman by

rivers, the Lycus and the Eleutherus,[298] empty into me?" When some impoverished customers came in a drunken mob to visit Gnathaena's daughter[299] and threatened to demolish the house, claiming to have brought mattocks and shovels, Gnathaena said: "If you actually owned tools like that, you could've pawned them and sent the money it costs to hire her." Gnathaena was extremely witty and sophisticated in conversation, and composed a set of dinner-regulations, which her lovers were required to follow when they visited her and her daughter, in imitation of the philosophers who put together similar documents. Callimachus (fr. 433 Pfeiffer) catalogued it in the third tablet of his *Laws* and quoted its beginning, which is as follows: This set of regulations was drafted to be equitable and to apply to everyone; 323 lines long. A common criminal hired Callistion[300] (nicknamed Ptochelene). It was summer, and he was lying there naked; and when she saw the scars from where he had been beaten, she said: "You poor thing—where did these come from?" He said: "When I was a boy, some broth spilled on me." And she said: "Beef-broth, obviously!"[301] When the poet Menander had a failure and visited Glycera's[302] house, she brought him some milk and encouraged him to drink it up. He said: "I don't want to;" because there was scum (*graus*) on top of it. But she said:

the same name mentioned by Macho at 13.583a. Her nickname is literally "Beggar-Helen."

301 Since whips are made of leather, and Callistion knew perfectly well that his story was untrue. Cf. the very similar anecdote involving Gnathaena at 13.580a–b (from Macho).

302 *PAA* 277495; for her relationship with Menander, cf. 13.594d.

"καὶ τῷ κάτω χρῷ." Θαΐς ἐραστοῦ τινος αὐτῆς ἀλα-
d ζόνος παρὰ πολλῶν ποτήρια | χρησαμένου καὶ λέγον-
τος θέλειν ταῦτα συγκόψαι, ἄλλα δὲ κατασκευάσαι,
"ἀπολεῖς", ἔφη, "ἑκάστου τὸ ἴδιον." Λεόντιον κατα-
κειμένη μετ' ἐραστοῦ, ἐπεισελθούσης εἰς τὸ συμ-
πόσιον Γλυκέρας καὶ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ αὐτῆς ταύτῃ μᾶλ-
λον προσέχοντος, κατάστυγνος ἦν. ὡς δ' ἐπιστρέψας
ὁ γνώριμος αὐτὴν ἠρώτησε τί λυπεῖται, "ἡ ὑστέρα με
λυπεῖ," ἔφη. πρὸς Λαΐδα τὴν Κορινθίαν ἐραστὴς ἀπο-
σφράγισμα πέμψας ἐκέλευε παραγίνεσθαι. ἡ δ', "οὐ
δύναμαι," εἶπε· "πηλός ἐστι." Θαΐς πρὸς γράσωνα |
e πορευομένη ἐραστήν, ἐπεί τις αὐτὴν ἠρώτα ποῦ πο-
ρεύεται, εἶπεν·

Λίγει συνοικήσουσα τῷ Πανδίονος.

Φρύνη συνδειπνοῦσά ποτε γράσωνι ἄρασα φορίνην,
"λαβέ", εἶπε, "καὶ ταῦτα τράγε." πέμψαντος δέ τινος
αὐτῇ τῶν γνωρίμων οἶνον χρηστὸν μέν, ὀλίγον δέ,
καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι δεκαέτης ἐστίν, "μικρὸς ὡς πολλῶν

303 *graus* also means "an old woman", and Glycera's advice thus has the second sense "Ignore what I look like, and use my lower parts." 304 Presumably to be identified with the famous courtesan mentioned at 13.576d–e (Berve i #359; *PAA* 500158). 305 I.e. of each cup—but also of each person from whom a cup had been borrowed. 306 *PAA* 603114; perhaps to be identified with Epicurus' lover by the same name (13.588b with n.). 307 But *hê hustera* ("my womb") can also mean "the woman who came in after me".

308 But the words can also be taken to mean "it's clay" (i.e.

"Blow it off, and enjoy what's down below."[303] When one of Thaïs'[304] lovers, who was a big talker, borrowed cups from a large number of people and claimed that he wanted to smash them all and make new ones, she said: "You're going to destroy the unique property of each of them."[305] Leontion[306] was lying down with a lover when Glycera came into the party, and Leontion's lover began to pay far more attention to Glycera. Leontion looked unhappy, and when her customer turned back toward her and asked why she was upset, she said: "My womb's hurting me."[307] One of her lovers sent Laïs of Corinth an impression of his seal and asked her to visit him. "I can't," she said; "it's muddy."[308] Thaïs[309] was on her way to a customer who stank, and when someone asked where she was going, she said (E. *Med.* 1385):

To stay with Aegeus[310] son of Pandion.

Once when Phryne[311] was having dinner with a man who stank, she picked up a piece of pigskin and said: "Take this and eat it!"[312] When one of her customers sent her some good wine but not a lot of it, and told her that it was ten years old, she said: "It's small, for being that old!"[313]

rather than something more valuable, like gold, which might have motivated her to make the trip). [309] *PAA* 500159.

[310] A punning reference to the fact that the man smelled as bad as a she-goat (*aix*, genitive *aigos*).

[311] Presumably Phryne of Thespiae (*PAA* 964975), discussed at 13.590d–2f. [312] But if the final word is accented differently, her remark can be understood to mean: "Take this too, goat!" [313] Compare the very similar anecdote involving Gnathaena at 13.584b–c (from Lynceus).

ἐτῶν," ἔφη. ζητουμένου δὲ ἔν τινι συμποσίῳ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν οἱ στέφανοι κρήμνανται, εἶπεν, "ὅτι ψυχαγω-
f γοῦσιν." μαστιγίου δέ τινος μειρακιευομένου | πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ φαμένου πολλαῖς συμπεπλέχθαι, καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἐσκυθρώπασεν. ἐπερωτήσαντος δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν, "ὀργίζομαί σοι," εἶπεν, "ὅτι πολλὰς ἔχεις." φιλάργυρος δέ τις ἐραστὴς ὑποκοριζόμενος αὐτὴν εἶπεν, "Ἀφροδίσιον εἶ Πραξιτέλους·" ἡ δέ, "σὺ δ' Ἔρως Φειδίου."

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἶδά τινας μνημονεύοντας αὐτῶν ἢ κατηγοροῦντας ἢ ἀπολογουμένους, μνησθήσομαι καὶ τούτων. Δημοσθένης μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ
586 Κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος Σινώπης || μέμνηται καὶ Φανοστράτης. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς Σινώπης Ἡρόδικος ὁ Κρατήτειος ἐν ἕκτῳ Κωμῳδουμένων φησὶν ὅτι Ἄβυδος ἐλέγετο διὰ τὸ γραῦς εἶναι. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀρκάδι καὶ ἐν Κηπουρῷ, ἐν Ἀκεστρίᾳ, ἐν Ἀλιευομένῃ, ἐν Νεοττίδι, καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Κλεοβουλίνῃ καὶ Καλλικράτης ἐν Μοσχίωνι. περὶ δὲ τῆς Φανοστράτης Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνη-

314 Sc. at the end of a night of drinking; cf. 10.437b.

315 Or "Because they attract the spirits of the dead"; but why this qualifies as a memorably witty comment is unclear.

316 I.e. "so many women"—or "so many whippings."

317 The sculptor Praxiteles (active *c.*375–300 BCE) was best known for his statue of Aphrodite on Cnidus; cf. 13.591a. But the point of the reference to Phidias (active *c.*465–425 BCE) is not that he produced a famous statue of Eros, but that his name recalls the verb *pheidomai*, "be thrifty, stingy."

When the question came up at a party of why garlands are hung up,[314] she said: "Because they're attractive."[315] When a common criminal was teasing her and claiming to have slept with large numbers of women, she pretended to scowl at him. When he asked why, she said: "I'm angry at you, because you've had so many."[316] When a lover who was a miser tried to flatter her by saying, "You're Praxiteles' little Aphrodite!", she responded: "And you're Phidias' Eros!"[317]

Since I am aware that some politicians refer to courtesans either to condemn or to defend them, I will mention them as well. Demosthenes in his *Against Androtion* (22.56), for example, mentions Sinope and Phanostrate.[318] As for Sinope, Herodicus the Cratetean in Book VI of *Individuals Mentioned in Comedy* (fr. IV.1, p. 125 Düring) says that she was known as Abydos, because she was an old woman.[319] Antiphanes mentions her in *Arcas*[320] (fr. 43) and in *The Gardener* (fr. 114), *The Seamstress* (fr. 23), *The Fisherwoman* (fr. 27.12),[321] and *Neottis* (fr. 168); Alexis mentions her in *Cleoboulina* (fr. 109); and Callicrates mentions her in *Moschion* (fr. 1). As for Phanostrate, Apollodorus in his *On the Courtesans in Athens* (*FGrH* 244 F

318 Sinope is *PAA* 823225. Phanostrate is *PAA* 916750.

319 Sinope was the name of a city on the southern shore of the Black Sea, while Abydos was located on the Asian side of the Hellespont, and the witticism apparently depends on the (otherwise unattested) idea that Abydos was archetypically old and decayed.

320 The title of the play is given as *Arcadia* at 10.444b.

321 Quoted at 8.338f.

σιν Ἑταιρίδων ὅτι Φθειροπύλη ἐπεκαλεῖτο, ἐπειδήπερ ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας ἑστῶσα ἐφθειρίζετο. Ὑπερείδης δ' ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρας φησί· καὶ πάλιν τὰς Ἀφύας καλουμένας | τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκαλέσατε. ἑταιρῶν ἐπωνυμίαι αἱ ἀφύαι, περὶ ὧν ὁ προειρημένος Ἀπολλόδωρός φησι· Σταγόνιον καὶ Ἄνθις ἀδελφαί· αὗται Ἀφύαι ἐκαλοῦντο, ὅτι λευκαὶ καὶ λεπταὶ οὖσαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μεγάλους εἶχον. Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἑταιρῶν Νικοστρατίδα φησὶν Ἀφύην κληθῆναι διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Μαντιθέου Αἰκίας περὶ Γλυκέρας τάδε λέγει· ἄγων Γλυκέραν τε τὴν Θαλασσίδος, ζεῦγος ἔχων. ἄδηλον εἰ αὕτη ἐστὶν | ἡ Ἁρπάλῳ συνοῦσα· περὶ ἧς φησιν Θεόπομπος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς Χίας Ἐπιστολῆς, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν τῆς Πυθιονίκης θάνατον ὁ Ἅρπαλος μετεπέμψατο τὴν Γλυκέραν Ἀθήνηθεν· ἣν καὶ ἐλθοῦσαν οἰκεῖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς ἐν Ταρσῷ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους βασίλισσαν προσαγορευομένην· ἀπειρῆσθαί τε πᾶσι μὴ στεφανοῦν Ἅρπαλον, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ Γλυκέραν στεφανῶσιν. ἐν Ῥωσσῷ δὲ καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν αὐτῆς ἱστάναι τολμῆσαι παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. τὰ ὅμοια δ' εἴρηκε καὶ Κλείταρχος | ἐν ταῖς Περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἱστορίαις. ὁ δὲ γράψας τὸν Ἀγῆνα

[322] Literally "Lice-Gate."
[323] *PAA* 832170 and 130290, respectively.
[324] *PAA* 717765.
[325] *PAA* 277485. Her mother Thalassis is *PAA* 500233.

209) claims that her nickname was Phtheiropyle,[322] because she stood in front of her door and picked lice off herself. Hyperides says in his *Against Aristagoras* (fr. 24 Jensen): And, moreover, you invited the women referred to as the Small-fry in the same way. Small-fry was the nickname given to courtesans about whom the Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244 F 210) mentioned above says: Stagonion and Anthis[323] were sisters. They were known as the Small-fry, because they were pale and thin, and had large eyes. Antiphanes in his *On Courtesans* (Antiph. Jun. *FGrH* 349 F 1) claims that Nicostratis[324] was called Small-fry for the same reason. The same Hyperides in his *Against Mantitheus for Assault* (fr. 121 Jensen) says the following about Glycera:[325] bringing also Glycera the daughter of Thalassis, meaning that he had a pair. It is unclear if she is to be identified with the woman who lived with Harpalus;[326] Theopompus in his *On the Chian Letter* (*FGrH* 115 F 254a)[327] says that after Pythionice[328] died, Harpalus sent for Glycera from Athens. When she got there, she lived in the palace in Tarsus, and the common people bowed down to her and addressed her as "Queen." And no one was allowed to place a garland on Harpalus' head, unless they also garlanded Glycera. He was reckless enough to erect a bronze statue of her next to his own in Rhosus. Cleitarchus offers similar remarks in his *History involving Alexander* (*FGrH* 137 F 30). The author of

326 This Glycera is *PAA* 277490. Harpalus was Alexander the Great's treasurer (Berve i #143; *PAA* 204010).

327 Cited again at 13.595d–e.

328 Also a courtesan; cf. 13.594d–5d.

τὸ σατυρικὸν δραμάτιον, εἴτε Πύθων ἐστὶν ὁ Καταναῖος ἢ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, φησίν·

(A.) καὶ μὴν ἀκούω μυριάδας τὸν Ἅρπαλον
αὐτοῖσι τῶν Ἀγῆνος οὐκ ἐλάττονας
σίτου παραπέμψαι καὶ πολίτην γεγονέναι.
(B.) Γλυκέρας ὁ σῖτος οὗτος ἦν, ἔσται δ' ἴσως
αὐτοῖς ὀλέθρου κοὐχ ἑταίρας ἀρραβών. |

e Λυσίας δ' ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Λαΐδα, εἴ γε γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, τούτων μνημονεύει· Φιλύρα γέ τοι ἐπαύσατο πορνευομένη ἔτι νέα οὖσα καὶ Σκιώνη καὶ Ἱππάφεσις καὶ Θεόκλεια καὶ Ψαμάθη καὶ Λαγίσκα καὶ Ἄνθεια. μήποτε δὲ δεῖ γράφειν ἀντὶ τῆς Ἀνθείας Ἄντειαν· οὐ γὰρ εὑρίσκομεν παρ' οὐδενὶ Ἄνθειαν ἀναγεγραμμένην ἑταίραν, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀντείας καὶ ὅλον δρᾶμα ἐπιγραφόμενον, ὡς προεῖπον, Εὐνίκου ἢ Φιλυλλίου Ἀντειά ἐστιν. καὶ ὁ τὸν Κατὰ Νεαίρας δὲ λόγον γράψας
f μνημονεύει αὐτῆς. ἐν | δὲ τῷ Κατὰ Φιλωνίδου Βιαίων ὁ Λυσίας, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, καὶ Ναΐδος τῆς ἑταίρας μέμνηται, κἀν τῷ Πρὸς Μέδοντα Ψευδομαρτυριῶν <Ἀντικύρας>.[35] ἐπώνυμον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἑταίρας· τὸ γὰρ κύριον ἦν Οἴα, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ

[35] add. Schweighäuser e Harp. A 156

[329] Part of a fragment quoted at greater length (and with several minor variants) at 13.596a–b, where see n.

[330] Quoted again at 13.592e (with one additional name).

[331] Scione is *PAA* 824375; Hippaphesis is *PAA* 537770;

the miniature satyr play *Agen*, whether this is Python of Catana (*TrGF* 91 F 1.14–18) or King Alexander himself, says:[329]

> (A.) Indeed, I hear that Harpalus sent
> them tens of 1000s of measures of grain—at least
> as much as Agen did—and became a citizen.
> (B.) This grain belonged to Glycera; maybe it'll be
> earnest money for their deaths, not the courtesan's!

Lysias in his *Response to Laïs* (fr. 208 Carey)[330]—if the speech is genuine—mentions the following courtesans: Philyra, at any rate, stopped working as a whore when she was still young, as did Scione, Hippaphesis, Theocleia, Psamathe, Lagisca, and Antheia.[331] But perhaps Anteia ought to be written in place of Antheia; because I find no reference in any author to a courtesan named Antheia, whereas an entire play gets its title from Anteia,[332] as I noted earlier,[333] specifically the *Anteia* of Eunicus (*Anteia* test. ii) or Philyllius. The author of the speech *Against Neaera* ([D.] 59.19) mentions her as well. In his *Against Philonides for Battery* (fr. 299 Carey)—if the speech is genuine—Lysias also refers to the courtesan Naïs,[334] while in his *Response to Medon on a Charge of Offering False Witness* (fr. 220 Carey) he mentions Anticyra. The latter is a courtesan's nickname; because her given name was Oia,[335] according to Aristophanes in his *On Courtesans*

Theocleia is *PAA* 507884; Psamathe is *PAA* 996120; Lagisca is *PAA* 600533; and Antheia is *PAA* 129522.

332 *PAA* 131297.

333 At 13.567c, where see n.

334 *PAA* 700450.

335 *PAA* 740525.

Περὶ Ἑταιρῶν, Ἀντικύραν αὐτὴν φάσκων κληθῆναι ἤτοι ὅτι συνέπινε παρακινοῦσι καὶ μεμηνόσιν ἢ ὅτι αὐτὴν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ ἰατρὸς Νικόστρατος καὶ ἀποθνήσκων κατέλιπεν αὐτῇ πολὺν ἐλλέβορον, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν. καὶ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Λεωκράτους Εἰρηνίδος ἑταίρας μέμνηται ὡς ἑταιρούσης τῷ Λεωκράτει.

587 || Ναννίου δὲ Ὑπερείδης μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Πατροκλέους· αὕτη δὲ ὅτι Αἶξ ἐπεκαλεῖτο προείπομεν, διὰ τὸ Θαλλὸν τὸν κάπηλον ἐξαναλῶσαι, ὅτι δὲ θαλλῷ χαίρουσιν αἱ αἶγες, διόπερ οὐδ' εἰς ἀκρόπολιν ἄνεισι τὸ ζῷον οὐδ' ὅλως Ἀθηνᾷ θύεται διὰ τοῦτο, ἄλλος ἔσται λόγος. ἀλλ' ὅ γε Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ποιμέσιν ὅτι θαλλοφαγεῖ τὸ ζῷόν φησιν οὕτως·

ἑωθινὸς γάρ, πρίν τιν' αὐλιτῶν ὁρᾶν,
θαλλὸν χιμαίραις προσφέρων νεοσπάδα, |
b εἶδον στρατὸν στείχοντα παραλίαν ἄκραν.[36]

μνημονεύει τῆς Ναννίου καὶ Ἄλεξις ἐν Ταραντίνοις οὕτως·

[36] Harpocration N 2 has *πέτραν*.

[336] *PAA* 717932; otherwise unknown.

[337] Hellebore was also known as *antikuria* or *antikurikon*, and was used to treat schizophrenic breakdowns and the like (hence the first explanation of Anticyra's nickname).

[338] *PAA* 382240; her lover Leocrates is *PAA* 605195.

(Ar. Byz. fr. 365 Slater), in which he claims that she was known as Anticyra either because she used to drink with madmen and lunatics, or because after the physician Nicostratus[336] took up with her, he died and left her a large supply of hellebore, but nothing else.[337] Lycurgus in his *Against Leocrates* (17) also mentions a courtesan named Eirenis,[338] claiming that she provided her services to Leocrates. Hyperides refers to Nannion[339] in his *Against Patroclus* (fr. 141 Jensen); I noted earlier that she was nicknamed Aix ("She-Goat"), because she consumed all the money of the trader named Thallus.[340] The fact that she-goats like green shoots, which is why the animal is not allowed up on the Acropolis and is never sacrificed to Athena on that account, will be discussed elsewhere.[341] But Sophocles in *Shepherds* (fr. 502), at least, reports that the animal consumes green shoots, in the following passage:

> Because first thing in the morning, before I noticed
> any farmhands out,
> as I was offering fresh-plucked green shoots to the
> she-goats,
> I spotted an army moving along the cliff next to the
> coast.

Alexis in *Men from Tarentum* (fr. 225) also mentions Nannion, as follows:

339 *PAA* 700568. Harp. N 2 claims that this information comes from Apollodorus' *On the Courtesans in Athens* (*FGrH* 244 F 211). 340 Cf. 13.582e–f with n., although there the given name of Aix is said to be Nico.

341 There is in fact no further reference to the matter in the *Learned Banqueters*.

Νάννιον δὲ μαίνεται
ἐπὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ,

κωμῳδῶν αὐτὴν ὡς μέθυσον. Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Ψευδηρακλεῖ φησιν·

< . . . > οὐκ ἐπείρα Νάννιον;

Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἑταιρῶν, Προσκήνιον, φησίν, ἐπεκαλεῖτο ἡ Νάννιον, ὅτι πρόσωπόν τε ἀστεῖον εἶχε καὶ ἐχρῆτο χρυσίοις καὶ ἱματίοις πολυτελέσι, ἐκδῦσα δὲ ἦν αἰσχροτάτη. ἦν δὲ Κορώνη τῆς Ναννίου
c θυγάτηρ, τὸ τῆς Τήθης ἀναφέρουσα | ἐκ τριπορνείας ὄνομα. καὶ Νεμεάδος δὲ τῆς αὐλητρίδος Ὑπερείδης μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Πατροκλέους. περὶ ἧς ἄξιον θαυμάζειν πῶς περιεῖδον Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτως προσαγορευομένην τὴν πόρνην, παηγύρεως ἐνδοξοτάτης ὀνόματι κεχρημένην· ἐκεκώλυτο γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι ὀνόματα οὐ μόνον ταῖς ἑταιρούσαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δούλαις, ὥς φησι Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Ἀκροπόλεως. καὶ Ὠκίμου δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς, ὡς σὺ φής, Κύνουλκε, καὶ Ὑπερείδης μέμνηται ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρας
d | δευτέρῳ λέγων οὕτως· ὥστε Λαΐς μὲν ἡ δοκοῦσα τῶν πώποτε διενηνοχέναι τὴν ὄψιν καὶ Ὤκιμον καὶ Μετάνειρα. Νικόστρατος δὲ ὁ τῆς μέσης κωμῳδίας ποιητὴς ἐν Πανδρόσῳ οὑτωσὶ λέγων·

Nannion's crazy
about Dionysus,

mocking her for being a drunk. And Menander says in *The Fake Heracles* (fr. 414):

He didn't make a pass at Nannion?

Antiphanes says in his *On Courtesans* (Antiph. Jun. *FGrH* 349 F 2a): Nannion was nicknamed Proskênion ("False Front") because she had an attractive face and wore gold jewelry and expensive clothing, but was extremely ugly after she took them off. Corone[342] was Nannion's daughter and got the name Tethe ("Grandmother"), because she was a third-generation whore. Hyperides in his *Against Patroclus* (fr. 142 Jensen) also mentions the pipe-girl Nemeas.[343] It is astonishing in her case that the Athenians ignored a prostitute being referred to this way, by the name of an extremely important festival; because there was a law against giving names of this type not just to courtesans, but to slaves of any kind, according to Polemon in his *On the Acropolis* (fr. 3 Preller). Hyperides in his second speech *Against Aristagoras* (fr. 13 Jensen) also mentions "my" Ocimon, as you refer to her (13.567c), Cynulcus, and says the following: so that Laïs, who had a reputation for being the best-looking woman ever, and Ocimon and Metaneira.[344] The Middle Comic poet Nicostratus in *Pandrosus* (fr. 20) (also mentions Ocimon), saying the following:

342 *PAA* 582902.
343 *PAA* 705950.
344 *PAA* 647752.

ἔπειτα τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ
πρὸς Ἀερόπην ἐλθοῦσα πέμψαι στρώματα
αὐτὴν κέλευε, φησί, καὶ παρ' Ὤκιμον
χαλκώματα.

Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Κόλακι τάσδε καταλέγει ἑταίρας·

e Χρυσίδα, Κορώνην, Ἀντίκυραν, Ἰσχάδα,
καὶ Ναννάριον ἔσχηκας ὡραίαν σφόδρα.

Φιλέταιρος ἐν Κυναγίδι·

οὐχὶ Κερκώπη μὲν ἤδη γέγον' ἔτη τρισχίλια,
ἡ δὲ Διωπείθους ἀηδὴς Τέλεσις ἕτερα μυρία;
Θεολύτην δ' ‹οὐδ'› οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον
ἐγένετο.
οὐχὶ Λαΐς μὲν τελευτῶσ' ἀπέθανεν βινουμένη,
f Ἰσθμιὰς δὲ καὶ Νέαιρα κατασέσηπε καὶ Φίλα;
Κοσσύφας δὲ καὶ Γαλήνας καὶ Κορώνας οὐ
λέγω.
περὶ δὲ Ναΐδος σιωπῶ· γομφίους γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει.

Θεόφιλος Φιλαύλῳ·

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345 *PAA* 108227.

346 Chrysis is *PAA* 994150; Corone is *PAA* 582915; Anticyra/Oia (cf. 13.586f) is *PAA* 740525; Ischas is *PAA* 542560; and Nannarion is *PAA* 700560.

347 *PAA* 566472.

348 *PAA* 879675; her lover Diopeithes is *PAA* 363140.

349 *PAA* 508540.

Then, on the same trip,
she says, she went to see Aerope[345] and told her
to send bedding, and (she went) to Ocimon (and
asked for)
bronze vessels.

Menander in *The Flatterer* (*Kol.* fr. 4 Sandbach) lists the following courtesans:

You had Chrysis, Corone, Anticyra, Ischas,
and Nannarion,[346] who's quite young and good-
looking.

Philetaerus in *The Huntress* (fr. 9):

Isn't Cercope[347] 3000 years old by now?
And isn't Diopeithes' disgusting Telesis[348] 10,000
years older than that?
And no one has any idea when Theolyte[349] was
originally born.
Didn't Laïs ultimately die while being fucked?[350]
And haven't Isthmias and Neaera and Phila[351] rotted
out?
I won't mention the Cossyphas, Galenes, and
Corones.
And my lips are sealed about Naïs;[352] because she's
lost her molars.

Theophilus in *The Man Who Liked the Pipes* (fr. 11):

[350] Cf. Philetaer. fr. 6 (also from *The Huntress*; quoted at 13.570e–f, where see textual n.).

[351] Isthmias is *PAA* 539827; Neaera is *PAA* 702905; and Phila is *PAA* 921855. [352] *PAA* 700450.

τοῦ μή ποτ' αὐτὸν ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς Λαΐδα
φερόμενον ἢ Μηκωνίδ' ἢ Σισύμβριον
ἢ Βάραθρον ἢ Θάλλουσαν ἢ τούτων τινὰ
ὧν ἐμπλέκουσι τοῖς λίνοις αἱ μαστροποί,
† ἢ ναυσιον † ἢ Μαλθάκην.

Τοσαῦτ' εἰπὼν μετά τινος τροχιλίας ὁ Μυρτίλος,
588 *μή τι τοιοῦτοι ὑμεῖς || οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ἔφη, οἱ καὶ πρὸ*
τῶν Ἡδονικῶν καλουμένων αὐτοὶ τὸν τῆς Ἡδονῆς
τοῖχον ὑποσκάπτοντες, ὥς που ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης ἔφη.
κἀμοὶ μὲν τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἑταιρῶν ἀποφθέγματα πεπε-
ράνθω μέχρι τούτων· ἐπ' ἄλλο δ' εἶδος μεταβήσομαι
λόγων. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι τοῦ φιλαλη-
θεστάτου Ἐπικούρου· ὅστις ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας ἀμύη-
τος ὢν ἐμακάριζε καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίως αὐτῷ ἐπὶ φιλο-
σοφίαν παρερχομένους, τοιαύτας φωνὰς προϊέμενος·
μακαρίζω σε, ὦ οὗτος, ὅτι καθαρὸς πάσης παιδείας
b *ἐπὶ | φιλοσοφίαν ὥρμησαι. ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Τίμων*
φησίν·

γραμμοδιδασκαλίδης, ἀναγωγότατος ζωόντων.

οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος οὐ Λεόντιον εἶχεν ἐρωμένην
τὴν ἐπὶ ἑταιρείᾳ διαβόητον γενομένην; ἡ δὲ οὐδ' ὅτε

[353] Meconis is *PAA* 648172; Sisumbrion is *PAA* 823290; Barathron is *PAA* 262705; and Thallousa is *PAA* 500907.

[354] *PAA* 631672.

[355] I.e. entangled in the nets of attractive courtesans.

so that he'd never be carried off and fall into
the clutches of Laïs or Meconis or Sisumbrion
or Barathron or Thallousa[353] or one of those women
whose nets the go-betweens wrap you up in
† or [corrupt] † or Malthace.[354]

After completing these extensive remarks with a certain deftness, Myrtilus said: I hope that none of you philosophers turn out at all like this,[355] given that even before the so-called Hedonists you were yourselves undermining the wall in Pleasure's house,[356] as Eratosthenes (p. 193 Bernhardy) said somewhere. As for me, my catalogue of memorable sayings by courtesans has now gone on long enough, and I intend to move on to a topic of a different sort. I will begin by referring to Epicurus, who was deeply devoted to the truth; since he never received a systematic education, he congratulated people who came to philosophy the same way he did, offering remarks of the following sort (fr. 117, p. 137 Usener = 25F Long–Sedley): I congratulate you, sir, on the fact that you have developed an interest in philosophy, despite being completely uneducated. Timo (*SH* 825.2) accordingly describes him as:

a little grammar-school teacher, the most uneducated
man alive.[357]

Did not this Epicurus, at any rate, have Leontion,[358] who was notorious for being a courtesan, as his lover? Nor did

[356] For the image, cf. 7.281d.

[357] A slightly longer version of the fragment is quoted by Diogenes Laertius (10.2), drawing on Hermippus (fr. 60 Wehrli).

[358] *PAA* 603116; cf. 13.585d with n.

φιλοσοφεῖν ἤρξατο ἐπαύσατο ἑταιροῦσα, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς Ἐπικουρείοις συνῆν ἐν τοῖς κήποις, Ἐπικούρῳ δὲ καὶ ἀναφανδόν· ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον πολλὴν φροντίδα ποιούμενον αὐτῆς τοῦτ' ἐμφανίζειν διὰ τῶν Πρὸς Ἕρμαρχον Ἐπιστολῶν. Λαΐδος τε τῆς ἐξ Ὑκκάρων (πόλις δ' αὕτη
c Σικελική, ἀφ' ἧς αἰχμάλωτος | γενομένη ἦκεν εἰς Κόρινθον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Πολέμων ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Τίμαιον), ἧς καὶ Ἀρίστιππος ἤρα καὶ Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ Διογένης τε ὁ κύων· ᾗ καὶ Ἀφροδίτη ἡ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἡ Μελαινὶς καλουμένη νυκτὸς ἐπιφαινομένη ἐμήνυεν ἐραστῶν ἔφοδον πολυταλάντων, οὐχ Ὑπερείδης μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρας δευτέρῳ; Ἀπελλῆς δὲ ὁ ζωγράφος ἔτι παρθένον οὖσαν τὴν Λαΐδα θεασάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Πειρήνης ὑδροφοροῦσαν καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος ἤγαγέ ποτε αὐτὴν εἰς φίλων
d συμπόσιον. | χλευασάντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων ὅτι ἀνθ' ἑταίρας παρθένον εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἀγάγοι, "μὴ θαυμάσητε," εἶπεν· "ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰς μέλλουσαν ἀπόλαυσιν μετ' οὐδ' ὅλην τριετίαν καλὴν δείξω." τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Σωκράτης ἐμαντεύσατο περὶ Θεοδότης τῆς

[359] Cf. 7.327b; 13.588f–9a.

[360] Cf. 13.589a. According to Σ Ar. *Pl.* 179, Laïs was captured by Nicias in 415 BCE during the Sicilian Expedition and sold to a Corinthian; she could thus easily have been a lover of Aristippus, who was a contemporary of Socrates (d. 399). But this Laïs is unlikely also to have had Demosthenes (384–322) and Diogenes (*c.*412/403–324/321) as lovers, or to have been mentioned by Hyperides (389–322), and certainly could not have been seen by

she stop working as a prostitute once she began to study philosophy, and she had sex with all Epicurus' followers in the Gardens, even right before Epicurus' eyes. He was accordingly quite concerned about her, as he makes clear in his *Letters to Hermarchus* (fr. 121, pp. 138–9 Usener). As for Laïs of Hyccara—this is a city in Sicily,[359] and after she was taken prisoner in a war she went from there to Corinth, according to Polemon in Book VI of his *Response to Timaeus* (fr. 44 Preller);[360] Aristippus (*SSR* IV A 91 = fr. 60 Mannebach) was her lover, as were the orator Demosthenes and Diogenes the Cynic (Diogenes of Sinope *SSR* V B 213); the Corinthian Aphrodite known as Melainis, moreover, used to appear to her by night, and tell her when she was about to be visited by extremely wealthy lovers—does not Hyperides mention her in his second speech *Against Aristagoras* (fr. 13 Jensen, quoted at 13.587c–d)? When Laïs was still a girl, the painter Apelles saw her fetching water from the Peirene spring,[361] and he was so astonished at how stunning she was, that he eventually took her to a party given by some friends. When the other guests made fun of him for bringing a young girl rather than a prostitute to the party, he said: "Don't be surprised; because in less than two years I'll put her on display as a beauty guaranteed to make people happy." Socrates offered a similar prediction about Theodote of Athens,[362] ac-

Apelles when she was young. Most likely two or more women with the same name have become hopelessly confused in the ancient scholarly tradition. [361] Apelles of Colophon and Ephesus (late 4th century BCE) was regarded as one of the greatest painters the Greek world produced; cf. 13.590f–1a. The Peirene spring was located in Corinth; cf. 2.43b. [362] *PAA* 505035.

Ἀθηναίας, ὥς φησι Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν· ὅτι δὲ καλλίστη εἴη καὶ στέρνα κρείττω λόγου παντὸς ἔχοι λέγοντός ⟨τινος⟩,[37] "ἰτέον ἡμῖν", ἔφη· "θεασομένοις τὴν γυναῖκα· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀκούουσιν ἔστιν κρῖναι τὸ κάλλος." οὕτω δ' ἦν ἡ καλὴ[38] ὡς καὶ τοὺς ζω-
c γράφους | ἐρχομένους πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπομιμεῖσθαι τῆς γυναικὸς τοὺς μαστοὺς καὶ τὰ στέρνα. διαζηλοτυπουμένη δέ ποτε ἡ Λαῒς Φρύνῃ πολὺν ἐραστῶν ἔσχηκεν ὅμιλον, οὐ διακρίνουσα πλούσιον ἢ πένητα οὐδ' ὑβριστικῶς αὐτοῖς χρωμένη. Ἀρίστιππος δὲ κατ' ἔτος δύο μῆνας συνδιημέρευεν αὐτῇ ἐν Λιγίνῃ τοῖς Ποσειδωνίοις· καὶ ὀνειδιζόμενος ὑπὸ οἰκέτου, ὅτι "σὺ μὲν αὐτῇ τοσοῦτον ἀργύριον δίδως, ἡ δὲ προῖκα Διογένει τῷ κυνὶ συγκυλίεται," ἀπεκρίνατο· "ἐγὼ Λαΐδι χορηγῶ
f πολλά, ἵνα αὐτὸς αὐτῆς ἀπολαύω, | οὐχ ἵνα μὴ ἄλλος." τοῦ δὲ Διογένους εἰπόντος αὐτῷ· "Ἀρίστιππε, κοινῇ συνοικεῖς πόρνῃ. ἢ κύνιζε οὖν, ὡς ἐγώ, ἢ πέπαυσο," καὶ ὁ Ἀρίστιππος· "ἆρά γε μή τί σοι ἄτοπον δοκεῖ εἶναι, Διόγενες, οἰκίαν οἰκεῖν ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ᾤκησαν ἄλλοι;" "οὐ γάρ," ἔφη. "τί δὲ ναῦν ἐν ᾗ πολλοὶ πεπλεύκασιν;" "οὐδὲ τοῦτο," ἔφη. "οὕτως οὖν οὐδὲ γυναικὶ συνεῖναι ἄτοπόν ἐστιν ᾗ πολλοὶ κέχρηνται." Νυμφόδωρος δ' ὁ Συρακούσιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῶν Ἐν
589 Σικελίᾳ Θαυμαζομένων ἐξ Ὑκκάρου || φησὶν Σικε-

[37] λέγοντός ⟨τινος⟩ Kaibel: λεγέν τε A
[38] ἦν ἡ Λαῒς καλὴ ACE: Λαῒς del. Wilamowitz

cording to Xenophon in his *Memorabilia* (3.11.1):[363] When someone observed that she was extremely beautiful and had a chest that was lovelier than words could describe, he said: "We have to go see this woman; because you can't judge beauty by hearing about it." She was so attractive that painters came to visit her and copied her breasts and her chest. At one point Laïs was in competition with Phryne[364] and had a large group of lovers, since she did not discriminate between rich and poor, and did not treat them badly. Aristippus (*SSR* IV A 92 = fr. 61 Mannebach) used to spend two months every year with her on Aegina during the Posidonia festival. When one of his slaves criticized him, saying: "You give her this much money—and she rolls around with Diogenes the Cynic for free!", he responded: "I take good care of Laïs so that I can enjoy her myself, not to prevent anyone else from doing so." When Diogenes said to him: "Aristippus, you're living with a common whore. So either become a Cynic, like me, or cut it out!", Aristippus (fr. 64A Mannebach) said: "Well—it doesn't seem odd to you, does it, Diogenes, to live in a house other people lived in before?" "Of course not," he said. "What about sailing a boat many people have sailed in?" "That doesn't bother me either," he said. "So too, there's nothing odd about sleeping with a woman many people have had sex with."[365] Nymphodorus of Syracuse in his *On the Marvellous Sights in Sicily* (*FGrH* 572 F 1) reports that Laïs was from Hyccarus, which was a fortified

[363] What follows is a rough paraphrase of the passage rather than a quotation. [364] Presumably Phryne of Thespiae (*PAA* 964975), discussed at 13.590d–2f. [365] The same anecdote (but in largely different words) is preserved at D.L. 2.74.

λικοῦ φρουρίου εἶναι τὴν Λαΐδα. Στράττις δ' ἐν Μακεδόσιν ἢ Παυσανίᾳ Κορινθίαν αὐτὴν εἶναί φησιν διὰ τούτων·

(Α.) εἰσὶν δὲ πόθεν αἱ παῖδες αὗται καὶ τίνες;
(Β.) νυνὶ μὲν ἥκουσιν Μεγαρόθεν, εἰσὶ δὲ
Κορίνθιαι· Λαὶς μὲν † ἡι μέγα κλεος ἰδί †.

Τίμαιος δ' ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ἐξ Ὑκκάρων· καθὰ καὶ Πολέμων εἴρηκεν, ἀναιρεθῆναι φάσκων αὐτὴν ὑπό τινων γυναικῶν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ, ἐρασθεῖσάν τινος Παυσανίου Θετταλοῦ, κατὰ φθόνον
b καὶ δυσζηλίαν | ταῖς ξυλίναις χελώναις τυπτομένην ἐν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῷ. διὸ καὶ τὸ τέμενος κληθῆναι Ἀνοσίας Ἀφροδίτης. δείκνυσθαι δ' αὐτῆς τάφον παρὰ τῷ Πηνειῷ σημεῖον ἔχοντα ὑδρίαν λιθίνην καὶ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

τῆσδέ ποθ' ἡ μεγάλαυχος ἀνίκητός τε πρὸς
ἀλκὴν
Ἑλλὰς ἐδουλώθη κάλλεος ἰσοθέου,
Λαΐδος, ἣν ἐτέκνωσεν Ἔρως, θρέψεν δὲ
Κόρινθος·
κεῖται δ' ἐν κλεινοῖς Θετταλικοῖς πεδίοις.

c αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν οὖν οἱ λέγοντες αὐτὴν ἐν Κορίνθῳ | τεθάφθαι πρὸς τῷ Κρανείῳ. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ὁ Σταγιρίτης[39] οὐκ ἐξ Ἐρπυλλίδος τῆς ἑταίρας ἐπαιδο-

[39] Σταγιρίτης Musurus: σατυριστὴς ACE

place in Sicily. Strattis in *Macedonians or Pausanias* (fr. 27), on the other hand, claims that she was from Corinth, in the following passage:

> (A.) Where are these girls from, and who are they?
> (B.) They've just arrived from Megara, but they're Corinthians; Laïs, on the one hand, † [corrupt] great fame [corrupt] †.

But Timaeus in Book XIII of his *History* (*FGrH* 566 F 24) (says that she was) from Hyccara. This agrees with what Polemon (fr. 44 Preller) says,[366] when he claims that she was killed by some women in Thessaly; a certain Pausanias of Thessaly was in love with her, and the women's resentment and jealousy led them to beat her to death with wooden footstools in Aphrodite's temple. This is why the precinct is said to belong to Unholy Aphrodite. Laïs' tomb is pointed out on the banks of the Peneius River; it is marked by a stone water jar and the following inscription (anon. *FGE* 1596–9):

> Boastful Greece, unconquered by force, was once enslaved by this godlike beauty,
> by Laïs, whom Eros begot and Corinth brought up; but she lies in the famous plains of Thessaly.

Those who claim that she is buried in Corinth next to the Craneion are making the story up.[367] And did not Aristotle of Stagira have a son named Nicomachus by the courtesan

[366] Cf. 13.588b–c, citing Book VI of Polemon's *Response to Timaeus*. [367] Cf. Paus. 2.2.4–5. The Craneion was a grove of cypress-trees just outside the city that also featured a temple of Aphrodite Melainis (cf. 13.588c).

ποίησε Νικόμαχον καὶ συνῆν ταύτῃ μέχρι θανάτου, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους πρώτῳ, ἐπιμελείας φάσκων τῆς δεούσης τετυχηκέναι ἐν ταῖς τοῦ φιλοσόφου διαθήκαις; ὁ δὲ καλὸς ἡμῶν Πλάτων οὐκ Ἀρχεάνασσαν τὴν Κολοφωνίαν ἑταίραν ἠγάπα; ὡς καὶ ἄδειν εἰς αὐτὴν τάδε·[40]

Ἀρχεάνασσαν ἔχω, τὴν ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ἑταίρην,
ἧς καὶ ἐπὶ ῥυτίδων πικρὸς ἔπεστιν Ἔρως· |
d ἆ δειλοί, νεότητος ἀπαντήσαντες ἐκείνης
πρωτοπλόου, δι' ὅσης ἤλθετε πυρκαϊῆς.

Περικλῆς δὲ ὁ Ὀλύμπιος, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν πρώτῳ Ἐρωτικῶν, οὐχ ἕνεκεν Ἀσπασίας—οὐ τῆς νεωτέρας ἀλλὰ τῆς Σωκράτει τῷ σοφῷ συγγενομένης—καίπερ τηλικοῦτον ἀξίωμα συνέσεως καὶ πολιτικῆς δυνάμεως κτησάμενος, οὐ συνετάραξε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα; ἦν δ' οὗτος <ὁ>[41] ἀνὴρ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια πάνυ καταφερής· ὅστις καὶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ γυναικὶ συνῆν, ὡς Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος ἱστορεῖ, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς | e αὐτῷ χρόνους γενόμενος καὶ ἑωρακὼς αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους. Ἀντισθένης δ' ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἐρα-

[40] The Palatine Anthology offers a very different version of the text, while D.L. 3.31 provides one close to what Athenaeus has.

[41] add. Kaibel

Herpyllis[368] and live with her until he died, according to Hermippus in Book I of his *On Aristotle* (fr. 46 Wehrli), where he says that she received the attention she deserved in the philosopher's will?[369] And was not our noble Plato fond of the Colophonian courtesan Archeanassa? Fond enough that he sang the following to her (Asclep. *AP* 7.217 = *HE* 1002–5 = 'Plato' *FGE* 608–11):[370]

> I'm holding Archeanassa, the courtesan from
> Colophon;
> a poignant Love-god sits even on her wrinkles!
> O miserable creatures, who confronted her youth
> on its maiden voyage; what an enormous pyre you
> passed through!

And did not Olympian Pericles, according to Clearchus in Book I of the *Erotica* (fr. 30 Wehrli), throw all of Greece into turmoil on account of Aspasia[371]—not the younger Aspasia,[372] but the one who spent time with the wise Socrates—despite having such a great reputation for intelligence and political power? This man was extremely interested in sex, to the extent that he even slept with his son's wife, according to Stesimbrotus of Thasos, who was his contemporary and had seen him (*FGrH* 107 T 2), in his work entitled *On Themistocles, Thucydides, and Pericles* (*FGrH* 107 F 10a). Antisthenes Socraticus (fr. 35 Decleva

[368] Herpyllis (otherwise unknown) is *PAA* 422602; Nicomachus is *PAA* 716905.

[369] The relevant passage is preserved at D.L. 5.12.

[370] Also quoted and assigned to Plato at D.L. 3.31.

[371] An echo of Ar. *Ach.* 526–31 (not to be taken seriously as historical evidence).

[372] Cf. 13.576d.

σθέντα φησὶν αὐτὸν Ἀσπασίας δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας εἰσιόντα καὶ ἐξιόντα ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀσπάζεσθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ φευγούσης ποτὲ αὐτῆς γραφὴν ἀσεβείας λέγων ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πλείονα ἐδάκρυσεν ἢ ὅτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐκινδύνευε. καὶ Κίμωνος δ᾽ Ἐλπινίκῃ τῇ ἀδελφῇ παρανόμως συνόντος, εἶθ᾽ ὕστερον
f ἐκδοθείσης Καλλίᾳ, καὶ φυγαδευθέντος | μισθὸν ἔλαβε τῆς καθόδου αὐτοῦ ὁ Περικλῆς τὸ τῇ Ἐλπινίκῃ μιχθῆναι. Πυθαίνετος δ᾽ ἐν τρίτῳ Περὶ Αἰγίνης Περίανδρόν φησιν ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου τὴν Προκλέους θυγατέρα Μέλισσαν ἰδόντα Πελοποννησιακῶς ἠσθημένην (ἀναμπέχονος γὰρ καὶ μονοχίτων ἦν καὶ ᾠνοχόει τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις) ἐρασθέντα γῆμαι. Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ Ἠπειρωτῶν βασιλέως, ὃς ἦν τρίτος ἀπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ ἐπ᾽ Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσαντος, ἐρωμένη ἦν Τίγρις ἡ
590 Λευκαδία· ἣν Ὀλυμπιὰς || ἡ τοῦ νεανίσκου μήτηρ φαρμάκοις ἀπέκτεινεν.

Καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανός, ὥσπερ ἕρμαιόν τι, ἔτι λαλοῦντος τοῦ Μυρτίλου ἔφη, εἰ ἔχομεν ἀρρενικῶς εἰρημένον τὸν τίγριν. Φιλήμονα γὰρ οἶδα τοῦτ᾽ εἰρηκότα ἐν Νεαίρᾳ·

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373 Cimon son of Miltiades (*PAA* 569795) was an important Athenian political and military leader in the 470s and 460s BCE, but was ostracized in 461; he was recalled from exile in the late 450s. Elpinice is *PAA* 387165, while her husband, the extraordinarily wealthy Callias son of Hipponicus, is *PAA* 554480. The lurid details that follow are echoed in other sources, but are unlikely to be anything other than typically vicious Athenian political slander.

Caizzi = *SSR* V A 143) claims that Pericles was in love with Aspasia and went into and out of her house twice a day just to say hello to her, and that at one point when she was on trial for impiety, he spoke on her behalf and wept more than when his own life and property were at risk. So too when Cimon[373] broke the law by sleeping with his sister Elpinice (who was later married off to Callias) and had been sent into exile, Pericles accepted the opportunity to have sex with Elpinice as his price for arranging Cimon's return. Pythaenetus in Book III of *On Aegina* (*FGrH* 299 F 3) says that when Periander,[374] on his way home from Epidaurus, saw Procles' daughter Melissa, who was dressed in the Peloponnesian style—she had no outer garment on, and was wearing only a tunic and pouring wine for the workers—he fell in love with her and married her. And Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, who was the grandson of the Pyrrhus who invaded Italy,[375] was in love with Tigris of Leucas; Olympias, the young man's mother, poisoned her.

Ulpian, acting as if he had just stumbled upon a lucky find, said while Myrtilus was still speaking: (I wonder) if we have the word *tigris* ("tiger") used in the masculine? For I know that Philemon in *Neaera* (fr. 49) says the following:

[374] The late 7th-/early 6th-century BCE tyrant of Corinth. Procles was tyrant of Epidaurus. Periander eventually killed Melissa and overthrew Procles; cf. Hdt. 3.50–2.

[375] In 280–275 BCE; although Pyrrhus nominally won a number of major battles, he also suffered heavy losses and ultimately accomplished nothing (hence the term "Pyrrhic victory"). The younger Pyrrhus was king of Epirus *c.*254–234.

(A.) ὥσπερ Σέλευκος δεῦρ' ἔπεμψε τὴν τίγριν,
ἣν εἴδομεν ἡμεῖς, τῷ Σελεύκῳ πάλιν ἔδει
ἡμᾶς τι παρ' ἡμῶν ἀντιπέμψαι θηρίον.
(B.) τρυγέρανον· οὐ γὰρ γίγνεται τοῦτ' αὐτόθι.

πρὸς ὃν ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη· ἐπείπερ ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν ἐγέ-
b νου κατάλογον γυναικῶν ποιουμένοις, οὐ κατὰ | τοὺς Σωσικράτους τοῦ Φαναγορείτου Ἠιόνους ἢ τὸν τῶν Γυναικῶν Κατάλογον Νικαινέτου τοῦ Σαμίου ἢ Ἀβδηρίτου, μικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ τρέψομαι πεῦσιν,

Φοίνιξ ἄττα γεραιέ,

μάθε οὖν ὅτι ἀρσενικῶς εἴρηκε τὸν τίγριν Ἄλεξις ἐν Πυραύνῳ οὕτως·

ἄνοιγ' ἄνοιγε τὴν θύραν· ἐλάνθανον
πάλαι περιπατῶν ἀνδριάς, ἀλέτων ὄνος,
ποτάμιος ἵππος, τοῖχος, ὁ Σελεύκου τίγρις.

c ἔχων δὲ καὶ ἄλλα μαρτύρια ἀνατίθεμαι | τὰ νῦν, ἕως ἂν ἀπομνημονεύσω τὸν τῶν[42] καλῶν γυναικῶν κατά-

[42] τὸν περὶ τῶν A: περὶ del. Meineke

[376] The tigress belonging to Seleucus I is mentioned again by Alexis below (see n.) and was probably among the exotic gifts sent him by the Indian king Chandragupta ("Sandrocottus": Berve i #696); cf. 1.18d–e with n.; Arnott, *Alexis* p. 590.

[377] A *trugôn* is a turtledove, while a *geranos* is a crane; but what the joke is, is impossible to say.

(A.) Since Seleucus sent us the tigress[376] (*tigris*, fem.),
the one we saw, we should have sent Seleucus
some wild animal back from us in return.
(B.) How about a *trugeranos*?[377] Because they're not found there.

Myrtilus responded: Since you interfered as I was producing my catalogue of women—although not one to match the *Ehoioi*[378] of Sosicrates of Phanagoreia (*SH* 732) or the *Catalogue of Women* of Nicaenetus of Samos or Abdera (fr. 2, p. 2 Powell)—I will pause for a moment and give my attention to your question,

old father Phoenix[379] (*Il.* 9.607).

Be aware, then, that Alexis in *The Pan of Coals* (fr. 207) uses *tigris* as a masculine, as follows:

Open the door! Open it! I didn't notice that
I've been walking around for a long time like a statue, a mill-stone,
a hippopotamus, a wall, or Seleucus' tiger[380] (masc.).

Although I have other examples, I am deferring them for the moment,[381] until I can complete my catalogue of beau-

[378] Literally "Or Such Men As", this being the standard formula to introduce the next item in catalogues of this type; cf. 13.597d–e with n.

[379] A punning reference to Ulpian's Syrian (i.e. "Phoenician") ancestry.

[380] Clearly caged somewhere in public view and now notorious for walking endlessly—and helplessly—in circles.

[381] In fact, Myrtilus never returns to the question.

λογον. Κλέαρχος γὰρ περὶ Ἐπαμινώνδου φησὶν οὕτως· Ἐπαμινώνδας δ' ὁ Θηβαῖος σεμνότερον μὲν τούτων, οὐκ εὐσχημόνως δὲ περὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας ἐσφάλλετο τὴν γνώμην, εἴ τις θεωροίη τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Λάκωνος γυναῖκα. Ὑπερείδης δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκ τῆς πατρῴας οἰκίας τὸν υἱὸν ἀποβαλὼν Γλαύκιππον Μυρρίνην τὴν πολυτελεστάτην ἑταίραν ἀνέλαβε, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἐν ἄστει εἶχεν, ἐν Πειραιεῖ δὲ Ἀρισταγόρ- d ραν, | Φίλαν δ' ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι, ἣν πολλῶν ὠνησάμενος χρημάτων εἶχεν ἐλευθερώσας, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἰκουρὸν αὐτὴν ἐποιήσατο, ὡς Ἰδομενεὺς ἱστορεῖ. ἐν δὲ τῷ Ὑπὲρ Φρύνης λόγῳ Ὑπερείδης ὁμολογῶν ἑρᾶν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ οὐδέπω τοῦ ἔρωτος ἀπηλλαγμένος τὴν προειρημένην Μυρρίνην εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσήγαγεν. ἣν δ' ἡ Φρύνη ἐκ Θεσπιῶν, κρινομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐθίου τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπέφυγεν· διόπερ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Εὐθίας οὐκ ἔτι εἶπεν ἄλλην δίκην, ὥς φησιν Ἕρμιππος. ὁ δὲ e Ὑπερείδης | συναγορεύων τῇ Φρύνῃ, ὡς οὐδὲν ἤννε λέγων ἐπίδοξοί τε ἦσαν οἱ δικασταὶ καταψηφιούμενοι, παραγαγὼν αὐτὴν εἰς τοὐμφανὲς καὶ περιρήξας τοὺς χιτωνίσκους γυμνά τε τὰ στέρνα ποιήσας τοὺς ἐπιλογικοὺς οἴκτους ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς ἐπερρητόρευσεν δεισιδαιμονῆσαί τε ἐποίησεν τοὺς δικαστὰς τὴν ὑποφῆτιν καὶ ζάκορον Ἀφροδίτης ἐλέῳ χαρισαμένους μὴ

[382] The 4th-century Theban general and political leader (d. 362 BCE). Nothing else is known of the incident involving "the Spartan's wife". [383] *PAA* 275855.

tiful women. For Clearchus (fr. 31 Wehrli) says the following about Epaminondas: Epaminondas of Thebes[382] behaved more respectably than these people, but nonetheless betrayed his own convictions about personal relations in an unseemly way, if one considers what he did in the case of the Spartan's wife. The orator Hyperides threw his son Glaucippus[383] out of their ancestral home and took up with the extremely expensive courtesan Myrrhine.[384] He kept her in the city; Aristagora[385] in the Piraeus; and Phila[386] (a woman he had purchased for a large sum of money and then set free, and whom he had later made his housekeeper) in Eleusis, according to Idomeneus (*FGrH* 338 F 14a). In his speech *On Behalf of Phryne* (fr. 171 Jensen), Hyperides admits that he was in love with her and had by no means escaped these feelings when he moved the Myrrhine mentioned above into his house. Phryne[387] was from Thespiae, and when Euthias successfully indicted her,[388] she escaped the death penalty; Euthias was so angry about this that he never argued another case, according to Hermippus (fr. 68a I Wehrli). Hyperides spoke in support of Phryne, and when his speech accomplished nothing, and the jurors seemed likely to convict her, he brought her out in public, ripped her dress to shreds, exposed her chest, and at the conclusion of his speech produced cries of lament as he gazed at her, causing the jurors to feel a superstitious fear of this priestess and temple-attendant of Aphrodite, and to give in to pity rather than

[384] *PAA* 662210. [385] *PAA* 163101.
[386] *PAA* 921855. [387] *PAA* 964975.
[388] Cf. Baiter–Sauppe ii.319–20. Euthias is *PAA* 431560.

ἀποκτεῖναι. καὶ ἀφεθείσης ἐγράφη μετὰ ταῦτα ψήφισμα, μηδένα οἰκτίζεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων ὑπέρ τινος
f μηδὲ βλεπόμενον | τὸν κατηγορούμενον ἢ τὴν κατηγορουμένην κρίνεσθαι. ἦν δὲ ὄντως μᾶλλον ἡ Φρύνη καλὴ ἐν τοῖς μὴ βλεπομένοις. διόπερ οὐδὲ ῥᾳδίως ἦν αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν γυμνήν· ἐχέσαρκον γὰρ χιτώνιον ἠμπείχετο καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις οὐκ ἐχρῆτο βαλανείοις. τῇ δὲ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων πανηγύρει καὶ τῇ τῶν Ποσειδωνίων ἐν ὄψει τῶν Πανελλήνων πάντων ἀποθεμένη θοἰμάτιον καὶ λύσασα τὰς κόμας ἐνέβαινε τῇ θαλάττῃ· καὶ ἀπ'
591 αὐτῆς Ἀπελλῆς || τὴν Ἀναδυομένην Ἀφροδίτην ἀπεγράψατο. καὶ Πραξιτέλης δὲ ὁ ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἐρῶν αὐτῆς τὴν Κνιδίαν Ἀφροδίτην ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐπλάσατο καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἔρωτος βάσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ θεάτρου ἐπέγραψε·

Πραξιτέλης ὃν ἔπασχε διηκρίβωσεν Ἔρωτα
ἐξ ἰδίης ἔλκων ἀρχέτυπον κραδίης.
Φρύνῃ μισθὸν ἐμεῖο διδοὺς ἐμέ· φίλτρα δὲ βάλλω
οὐκέτ' ὀιστεύων,[43] ἀλλ' ἀτενιζόμενος. |

[43] τίκτω / . . . τοξεύων Anth. Pl.

389 Presumably a reference to events on the second day of the Eleusinian Mysteries (Boedromion 16), when initiates went down to the sea with a piglet and washed themselves and it there; cf. Olson on Ar. *Pax* 374–5. Something similar must have gone on at an (otherwise unidentified) local festival of Poseidon.

put her to death. Afterward, when she had been acquitted, a decree was passed to the effect that no speaker was to lament on another person's behalf, and that no accused man or women was to be put on display while their case was being decided. The parts of Phryne's body that were not seen were actually the most beautiful. As a consequence, it was not easy to get a glimpse of her naked, because she used to wear a tunic that clung to her body, and avoided the public baths. But at the Eleusinia[389] and the Posidonia festivals, with all the Greeks watching, she took off her robe, let down her hair, and entered the sea; Apelles[390] drew the inspiration for his "Aphrodite Rising from the Sea" from her. So too the sculptor Praxiteles, who was in love with her, used her as the model for his Cnidian Aphrodite,[391] and on the pedestal of his Eros, which stood below the stage in the Theater,[392] he placed the inscription ('Simon.' *APl* 204 = *FGE* 910–13):

> Praxiteles produced an exact replica of the Love he
> suffered,
> drawing his model from his own heart
> and offering me to Phryne as a price for me. I no
> longer cast
> love-spells by shooting arrows, but by being stared
> at.

[390] For Apelles, cf. 13.588c n. His "Aphrodite Rising from the Sea" was preserved on Cos (Plin. *Nat.* 35.91, cf. 35.86–7).

[391] Cf. 13.585f n.

[392] Sc. in Athens; the Street of Tripods (mentioned below) led out of the Theater of Dionysus and was lined with the choregic victory monuments from which it got its name.

b ἐκλογὴν δὲ αὐτῇ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἔδωκεν, εἴτε τὸν Ἔρωτα θέλοι λαβεῖν εἴτε τὸν ἐπὶ Τριπόδων σάτυρον, ἡ δὲ ἑλομένη τὸν Ἔρωτα ἀνέθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν Θεσπιαῖς. αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς Φρύνης οἱ περικτίονες ἀνδριάντα ποιήσαντες ἀνέθηκαν ἐν Δελφοῖς χρύσεον ἐπὶ κίονος Πεντελικοῦ· κατεσκεύασε δ' αὐτὸν Πραξιτέλης. ὃν καὶ θεασάμενος Κράτης ὁ κυνικὸς ἔφη τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκρασίας ἀνάθημα. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν αὕτη μέση τῆς Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως καὶ τῆς
c Φιλίππου | τοῦ Ἀμύντου, ἔχουσα ἐπιγραφὴν "Φρύνη Ἐπικλέους Θεσπική", ὥς φησιν Ἀλκέτας ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀναθημάτων. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἑταιρῶν δύο ἀναγράφει Φρύνας γεγονέναι, ὧν τὴν μὲν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι Κλαυσιγέλωτα, τὴν δὲ Σαπέρδιον. Ἡρόδικος δὲ ἐν ἕκτῳ Κωμῳδουμένων τὴν μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσί φησιν ὀνομαζομένην Σηστὸν καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀποσήθειν καὶ ἀποδύειν τοὺς συνόν-
d τας αὐτῇ, τὴν δὲ Θεσπικήν. ἐπλούτει | δὲ σφόδρα ἡ Φρύνη καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο τειχιεῖν τὰς Θήβας, ἐὰν ἐπιγράψωσιν Θηβαῖοι ὅτι "Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν κατέσκαψεν, ἀνέστησεν δὲ Φρύνη ἡ ἑταίρα," ὡς ἱστορεῖ Καλλίστρατος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἑταιρῶν. εἴρηκεν δὲ περὶ τοῦ

393 Where she came from (above). A fuller—and more amusing—version of the story is preserved at Paus. 1.20.1–2.

394 For the statue, cf. Paus. 9.27.5; Ael. *VH* 9.32.

395 Cf. Plu. *Mor.* 401a (where Phryne is referred to as Mnesarete; see below); D.L. 6.60 (who claims that the remark was inscribed on the statue itself by Diogenes the Cynic).

He gave her a choice of statues, letting her decide whether she would like to have the Eros or the satyr that stood in the Street of Tripods, and she chose the Eros and dedicated it in Thespiae.[393] The people who lived in the area had a gold statue made of Phryne herself and dedicated it, mounted on a column of Pentelic marble, in Delphi; Praxiteles produced it.[394] When the Cynic Crates (*SSR* V H 28) saw it, he called it a monument to Greek depravity.[395] This statue stood between those of Archidamus, the king of Sparta,[396] and Philip son of Amyntas,[397] and carried the inscription "Phryne the daughter of Epicles of Thespiae", according to Alcetas in Book II of *On the Dedications in Delphi* (*FGrH* 405 F 1). Apollodorus in his *On Courtesans* (*FGrH* 244 F 212) records that there were two Phrynes, one of whom was nicknamed Clausigelôta,[398] while the other was called Saperdion.[399] Herodicus in Book VI of *Individuals Mentioned in Comedy* (IV fr. 2, p. 126 Düring) says that the Phryne referred to by the orators as Sestos got her name from the fact that she robbed (*aposêthein*) and ruined the men who slept with her, whereas the other was the one from Thespiae. Phryne was extremely rich, and offered to build walls around Thebes, if the Thebans would inscribe on them: "Alexander tore them down,[400] but the courtesan Phryne erected them again," according to Callistratus in his *On Courtesans*

[396] Probably Archidamus III (Poralla #158; reigned 360/59–338 BCE). [397] I.e. Philip II of Macedon.

[398] "Laughing through her Tears" *vel sim.*

[399] Diminutive of *saperdê* (an unidentified fish; cf. 13.579f with n.). [400] Sc. in 335 BCE, when Thebes revolted from his authority and was crushed.

πλούτου αὐτῆς Τιμοκλῆς ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Νεαίρᾳ—πρόκειται τὸ μαρτύριον—καὶ Ἄμφις ἐν Κουρίδι. παρεσίτει δὲ τῇ Φρύνῃ Γρυλλίων εἷς ὢν τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν, ὡς καὶ Σάτυρος ὁ Ὀλύνθιος ὑποκριτὴς Παμφίλῃ. e Ἀριστογείτων | δὲ ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Φρύνης τὸ κύριόν φησιν αὐτῆς εἶναι ὄνομα Μνησαρέτην. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι τὸν ἐπιγραφόμενον κατ' αὐτῆς Εὐθίου λόγον Διόδωρος ὁ περιηγητὴς Ἀναξιμένους φησὶν εἶναι. Ποσείδιππος δ' ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἐφεσίᾳ τάδε φησὶν περὶ αὐτῆς·

Φρύνη πρό ‹γ'› ἡμῶν γέγονεν ἐπιφανεστάτη
πολὺ τῶν ἑταιρῶν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ νεωτέρα
τῶν τότε χρόνων εἶ, τόν γ' ἀγῶν' ἀκήκοας.
βλάπτειν δοκοῦσα τοὺς βίους μείζους βλάβας |
f τὴν ἡλιαίαν εἶλε περὶ τοῦ σώματος
καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν καθ' ἕνα δεξιουμένη
μετὰ δακρύων διέσωσε τὴν ψυχὴν μόλις.

ἴστε δὲ ὅτι καὶ Δημάδης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐξ αὐλητρίδος ἑταίρας ἐπαιδοποιήσατο Δημέαν· ὃν φρυαττόμενόν

401 At 13.567d–e, quoting Timocl. fr. 25.

402 *PAA* 281930; cf. Axionic. fr. 2 (quoted at 6.244f).

403 Satyrus (O'Connor #429; Stephanis #2235; *PAA* 813890) was a comic actor.

404 Perhaps to be identified with *PAA* 761905 (apparently the title-character of a play by Alexis—but not necessarily a real person on that account).

405 Cf. Plu. *Mor.* 401a.

(*FGrH* 348 F 1). The comic author Timocles mentioned her wealth in *Neaera*—the passage was cited above[401]—as did Amphis in *The Female Barber* (fr. 24). Gryllion,[402] who was a member of the Areopagus Council, used to live off of Phryne, as the actor Satyrus of Olynthus[403] did off of Pamphile.[404] Aristogeiton in his *Against Phryne* (IV, Baiter–Sauppe ii.310) claims that her given name was Mnesarete.[405] Nor am I unaware that the travel-writer Diodorus (*FGrH* 372 F 36) claims that the speech attacking her assigned to Euthias[406] was actually written by Anaximenes (*FGrH* 72 T 17a).[407] The comic author Posidippus in *The Girl from Ephesus* (fr. 13) says the following about her:

> Before our time, Phryne was far and away the best-known
> courtesan there was; because even if you're
> younger than that, you've heard about her trial.
> Even though they thought she did terrible damage to people's lives,
> she captured the court when she was tried on a capital charge;
> and by taking the jurors' hands, one by one,
> she saved her life—although just barely—with her tears.

As you are aware, the orator Demades had a son named Demeas[408] by a courtesan who played the pipes; when Demeas was prancing around on the speaker's stand at one

[406] Cf. 13.590d–e. [407] Thus also Hermippus (fr. 67 Wehrli), according to Harp. E 157.

[408] *PAA* 306870. His father Demades is *PAA* 306085.

ποτε ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐπεστόμισεν[409] Ὑπερείδης εἰπών· "οὐ σιωπήσῃ, μειράκιον, μεῖζον τῆς μητρὸς ἔχων τὸ φύσημα;" καὶ Βίων δ' ὁ Βορυσθενίτης φιλόσοφος
592 ἑταίρας ἦν υἱὸς Ὀλυμπίας || Λακαίνης, ὥς φησι Νικίας ὁ Νικαιεὺς ἐν ταῖς τῶν Φιλοσόφων Διαδοχαῖς. Σοφοκλῆς δ' ὁ τραγῳδιοποιὸς ἤδη γέρων ὢν ἠράσθη Θεωρίδος τῆς ἑταίρας. ἱκετεύων οὖν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην φησίν·

κλῦθί μευ εὐχομένου, κουροτρόφε, δὸς δὲ γυναῖκα
τήνδε νέων μὲν ἀναίνεσθαι φιλότητα καὶ εὐνήν,
ἥ δ' ἐπιτερπέσθω πολιοκροτάφοισι γέρουσιν,
ὧν ἰσχὺς μὲν ἀπήμβλυνται, θυμὸς δὲ μενοινᾷ.

ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναφερομένων.
b τῆς δὲ Θεωρίδος μνημονεύει λέγων | ἔν τινι στασίμῳ οὕτως·

< . . . > φίλη γὰρ ἡ Θεωρίς.

ἐπὶ δὲ δυσμαῖς ὢν τοῦ βίου, ὥς φησιν Ἡγήσανδρος, Ἀρχίππην ἠγάπησεν τὴν ἑταίραν καὶ τοῦ βίου κληρονόμον κατέλιπεν. ὅτι δὲ γηραιῷ ὄντι τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ

[409] I.e. "brought him firmly under control".

[410] Omitted from the Spartan prosopographies of both Poralla and Bradford. [411] *PAA* 513670. For the story of Sophocles' love for her, cf. Hermesian. fr. 7.59–60, p. 99 Powell (quoted at 13.598d), and see below. [412] Cf. the Herodotean *Life of Homer* 417–20 (vol. 5 p. 211 Allen).

point, Hyperides put a bit in his mouth[409] by saying: "Shut your mouth, boy! You're more of a blow-hard than your mother was!" The philosopher Bion of Borysthenes (T1 Kindstrand) was also the son of a courtesan, whose name was Olympia of Sparta,[410] according to Nicias of Nicaea in his *Successions of Philosophers* (*FHG* iv.464). When the tragic poet Sophocles (test. 77) was already an old man, he fell in love with the courtesan Theoris.[411] He therefore prays to Aphrodite and says:

> Listen to my prayer, nourisher of the young, and
> grant that this
> woman refuse to love or have sex with the young.
> Let her instead take pleasure in old men with gray
> temples,
> whose strength has faded, but whose desire endures.

These verses are among those generally attributed to Homer.[412] But he mentions Theoris when he says the following in a lyric section (fr. 765):

> because Theoris is beloved.[413]

When he was in his declining years, according to Hegesander (fr. 27, *FHG* iv.418–19), he grew attached to the courtesan Archippe[414] and left his property to her. As for the fact that Archippe slept with Sophocles when

[413] Thus Athenaeus. "Theoris" is clearly not a personal name here, however, but the noun *theoris* (perhaps referring to a bacchant, or to an Athenian sacred ship), meaning that the entire anecdote is based on a misunderstanding.

[414] *PAA* 213975.

συνῆν ἡ Ἀρχίππη, ὁ πρότερος αὐτῆς ἐραστὴς Σμικρίνης ἐρωτώμενος ὑπό τινος τί πράττει Ἀρχίππη χαριέντως ἔφη· "ὥσπερ αἱ γλαῦκες ἐπὶ τάφον κάθηται." ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἰσοκράτης ὁ τῶν ῥητόρων αἰδημονέστατος Μετάνειραν εἶχεν ἐρωμένην † καὶ καλήν †, ὡς Λυσίας ἱστορεῖ ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς. Δημοσθένης |
c δ' ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Νεαίρας τὴν Μετάνειραν τοῦ Λυσίου φησὶν ἐρωμένην εἶναι. ἤττητο δὲ καὶ ὁ Λυσίας Λαγίδος τῆς ἑταίρας, ἧς ἔγραψεν ἐγκώμιον Κέφαλος ὁ ῥήτωρ, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀλκιδάμας ὁ Ἐλαΐτης ὁ Γοργίου μαθητὴς ἔγραψεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγκώμιον Ναΐδος τῆς ἑταίρας. τὴν δὲ Ναΐδα ταύτην Λυσίας ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Φιλωνίδου Βιαίων, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, ἐρωμένην φησὶ γενέσθαι Φιλωνίδου γράφων ὧδε· ἔστιν οὖν γυνὴ ἑταίρα Ναῒς ὄνομα, ἧς Ἀρχίας κύριός ἐστιν, ὁ δ' Ὑμέναιος ἐπιτήδειος, ὁ Φιλωνίδης δ' ἐρᾶν φησιν.
d μνημονεύει αὐτῆς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ | Γηρυτάδῃ, μήποτε δὲ κἀν τῷ Πλούτῳ ἐν ᾧ λέγει·

ἐρᾷ δὲ Ναΐς[44] οὐ διὰ σὲ Φιλωνίδου·

γραπτέον Ναῒς καὶ οὐ Λαΐς. Ἕρμιππος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰσοκράτους προβαίνοντά φησι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὸν Ἰσοκράτη ἀναλαβεῖν Λαγίσκαν τὴν ἑταίραν εἰς τὴν οἰ-

[44] The traditional text of Aristophanes has Λαΐς.

415 *PAA* 825490. 416 *PAA* 647752.
417 *PAA* 600532.

he was an old man, when someone asked her previous lover Smicrines[415] what Archippe was up to, he offered the witty response: "She's sitting on a tomb, like owls do." Isocrates, again, who was the most modest of the orators, had Metaneira[416] as his lover † and beautiful †, as Lysias reports in his *Letters* (fr. 456 Carey). But Demosthenes in his *Against Neaera* ([D.] 59.21) says that Metaneira was Lysias' lover. Lysias was also smitten with the courtesan Lagis,[417] about whom the orator Cephalus wrote a praise-speech (fr. 2, Baiter–Sauppe ii.217), just as Gorgias' student Alcidamas of Elis (II, Baiter–Sauppe ii.155) wrote one about the courtesan Naïs.[418] Lysias in his *Against Philonides for Battery* (fr. 299 Carey)—if the speech is genuine—claims that this Naïs was Philonides' lover, writing as follows: There is, then, a courtesan named Naïs; Archias is her legal guardian, Hymenaeus is her close friend, and Philonides admits to being in love with her.[419] Aristophanes too mentions her in *Gerytades* (fr. 179), and perhaps also in *Wealth* (179), where he says:

> Doesn't Naïs love Philonides because of you?[420]

"Naïs" rather than "Laïs" should be read.[421] Hermippus in his *On Isocrates* (fr. 65 Wehrli) says that when Isocrates was growing old, he moved the courtesan Lagisca[422] into

418 *PAA* 700450.

419 Archias is *PAA* 212245; Hymenaeus is *PAA* 901530; and Philonides is *PAA* 957480.

420 Addressed to the blind god Wealth.

421 Marking this as an ancient emendation; see the note on the Greek text.

422 *PAA* 600533.

κίαν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ θυγάτριον. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς Στράττις ἐν τούτοις·

καὶ τὴν Λαγίσκαν τὴν Ἰσοκράτους παλλακὴν
ἰδεῖν[45] με συκάζουσαν εὐναίαν ἔτι,
τόν τ' αὐλοτρύπην αὐτόν. |

e καὶ Λυσίας δ' ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Λαΐδος, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, μνημονεύει αὐτῆς, καταλέγων καὶ ἄλλας ἑταίρας ἐν τούτοις· Φιλύρα γέ τοι ἐπαύσατο πορνευομένη ἔτι[46] νέα οὖσα καὶ Σκιώνη καὶ Ἱππάφεσις καὶ Θεόκλεια καὶ Ψαμάθη καὶ Λαγίσκα καὶ Ἄνθεια καὶ Ἀριστόκλεια. Δημοσθένη δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ τεκνοποιήσασθαι ἐξ ἑταίρας ἔχει λόγος. αὐτὸς γοῦν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Χρυσίου λόγῳ προαγήοχε τὰ τέκνα ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον ὡς δι' ἐκείνων ἔλεον ἕξων χωρὶς τῆς μητρός, καίτοι ἔθος
f ἐχόντων | τῶν κρινομένων τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπάγεσθαι· ἀλλ' αἰδοῖ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, φεύγων τὴν διαβολήν. ἀκόλαστος δ' ἦν ὁ ῥήτωρ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια, ὥς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς. Ἀριστάρχου γοῦν τινος ἐρασθεὶς μειρακίου καὶ δι' αὐτὸν παροινήσας εἰς Νικόδημον ἐξέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. παραδέδοται δὲ καὶ

[45] εὑρεῖν Zosimus (who also adds a few words to the end of the third verse) [46] καὶ ἔτι A: καὶ om. 13.586e

[423] Identified by Zosimus (who gives a slightly more complete version of the text) as coming from *Atalantus or Atalante*.

[424] Quoted also, in slightly abbreviated form, at 13.586e.

[425] Scione is *PAA* 824375; Hippaphesis is *PAA* 537770;

his house and had a daughter by her. Strattis (fr. 3.1–3) mentions her in the following passage:[423]

> that I saw Isocrates' concubine
> Lagisca still in bed and eating figs,
> and the flute-lover himself.

Lysias in his *Against Laïs* (fr. 208 Carey)[424]—if the speech is genuine—also mentions her, and includes other courtesans as well in his list, in the following passage: Philyra, at any rate, stopped working as a whore when she was still young, as did Scione, Hippaphesis, Theocleia, Psamathe, Lagisca, Antheia, and Aristocleia.[425] Rumor has it that the orator Demosthenes also had a child by a courtesan. He himself, at any rate, in his speech *On the Gold* (IV, Baiter–Sauppe ii.251), brought his children before the court without their mother in order to elicit pity on their account, even though married men normally brought their wives in. He did this, however, out of a concern for public opinion, as a way of avoiding malicious gossip. Demosthenes had a strong sex-drive, according to Idomeneus (*FGrH* 338 F 12). When he was in love with a boy named Aristarchus,[426] for example, he made a wild, drunken assault on Nicodemus because of him and gouged out his eyes. Tradition

Theocleia is *PAA* 507884; Psamathe is *PAA* 996120; Lagisca is *PAA* 600533; Antheia is *PAA* 129522; and Aristocleia is *PAA* 169590.

[426] *PAA* 164185. Aristarchus murdered Nicodemus (below; *PAA* 714295) in 348 BCE. The details of the incident are impossible to disentangle from the wild slanders in which they are embedded (see MacDowell on D. 21.104), but it certainly had political as well as personal aspects.

περὶ ὄψα καὶ περὶ νέους καὶ περὶ γυναῖκας πολυτελής. τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὁ γραμματεύς ποτ' αὐτοῦ εἶπε· "τί δ' ἄν
593 τις περὶ Δημοσθένους λέγειν δύναιτο; || τὰ γὰρ ἐνιαυτῷ μελετηθέντα ἐκείνῳ μία γυνὴ μιᾷ νυκτὶ συνέχεεν." ἀναλαβεῖν γοῦν καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν λέγεταί τινα Κνωσίωνα μειρακίσκον, καίτοι γυναῖκα ἔχων· ὡς καὶ αὐτὴν ἀγανακτήσασαν συγκοιμᾶσθαι τῷ Κνωσίωνι.

Μυρρίνην δὲ τὴν Σαμίαν ἑταίραν Δημήτριος εἶχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ τῆς διαδοχῆς τελευταῖος καὶ ἔξω τοῦ διαδήματος κοινωνὸν εἶχε τῆς βασιλείας, ὥς φησιν Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνός. Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διέπων φρουρὰν υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου
b βασιλέως Εἰρήνην | εἶχε τὴν ἑταίραν, ἥτις ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐπιβουλευομένου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ καταφυγόντος εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν συγκατέφυγεν· καὶ ἀποκτεινάντων αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ἡ Εἰρήνη ἐχομένη τῶν ῥόπτρων τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπέρραινεν τοῦ αἵματος τοῖς βωμοῖς, ἕως καὶ αὐτὴν κατέσφαξαν. Δανάην δὲ τὴν Λεοντίου τῆς Ἐπικουρείου θυγατέρα ἑταιριζομένην καὶ αὐτὴν Σώφρων εἶχεν ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου· δι' ἣν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσώθη ἐπιβουλευόμενος ὑπὸ Λαοδίκης, ἡ δὲ κατεκρημνίσθη, ὡς γράφει Φύλαρχος
c διὰ τῆς δωδεκάτης | τάδε· ἡ πάρεδρος τῆς Λαοδίκης Δανάη, πιστευομένη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὰ πάντα, Λεοντίου δ'

427 *PAA* 580150. For the story, cf. Aeschin. 2.149.
428 Demetrius Poliorcetes (336–283 BCE).

has it that he also spent large amounts of money on fancy food, boys, and women. His secretary accordingly once said regarding him: "What can you say about Demosthenes? Everything he'd accumulated in the course of a year got wasted by a single woman in a single night." People claim, at any rate, that he moved a boy named Cnosion[427] into his house, even though he had a wife, and that she was so annoyed that she slept with Cnosion.

King Demetrius (the last in the succession)[428] had a Samian courtesan named Myrrhine with whom he shared his kingdom, although he did not allow her to wear the royal diadem, according to Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrH* 90 F 90). So too the Ptolemy who stood guard in Ephesus and was the son of King Philadelphus[429] had a courtesan named Eirene; when the Thracians in Ephesus conspired against Ptolemy and he escaped into Artemis' temple, she escaped along with him. When they killed him, Eirene clung to the knockers on the temple doors and sprinkled the altars with her blood until they murdered her as well. Sophron, who controlled Ephesus, had Danae, the daughter of Epicurus' student Leontion,[430] who was also a courtesan. She saved his life when Laodice[431] plotted against him, but was herself thrown off a cliff, according to Phylarchus, who writes the following in Book XII (*FGrH* 81 F 24): Laodice's attendant Danae, who had her complete trust, was the daughter of Leontion, who studied with

429 Ptolemy II (reigned 285/3–246 BCE).

430 Cf. 13.588b. Nothing else is known of Sophron.

431 Laodice was the wife of Antiochus II and the mother of Seleucus II; the events referred to here took place shortly before Antiochus' death in 246 BCE.

οὖσα τῆς μετ' Ἐπικούρου τοῦ φυσικοῦ σχολασάσης θυγάτηρ, Σώφρονος δὲ γεγονυῖα πρότερον ἐρωμένη, παρακολουθοῦσα διότι ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεται τὸν Σώφρονα ἡ Λαοδίκη διανεύει τῷ Σώφρονι, μηνύουσα τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. ὁ δὲ συλλαβὼν καὶ προσποιηθεὶς συγχωρεῖν περὶ ὧν λέγει δύ' ἡμέρας παρῃτήσατο εἰς σκέψιν· καὶ συγχωρησάσης νυκτὸς ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἔφεσον. μαθοῦσα δὲ ἡ Λαοδίκη τὸ ποιηθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Δανάης
d κατεκρήμνισεν | τὴν ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲν τῶν προγεγενημένων φιλανθρώπων ἐπὶ νοῦν βαλομένη. τὴν δὲ Δανάην φασίν, ὡς ᾔσθετο τὸν ἐπηρτημένον αὐτῇ κίνδυνον, ἀνακρινομένην ὑπὸ τῆς Λαοδίκης οὐδ' ἀποκρίσεως αὐτὴν ἀξιῶσαι· ἀπαγομένην τε ἐπὶ τὸν κρημνὸν εἰπεῖν ὡς δικαίως οἱ πολλοὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θείου. "ὅτε ἐγὼ μὲν τὸν γενόμενόν μοι ἄνδρα σώσασα τοιαύτην χάριτα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου λαμβάνω, Λαοδίκη δὲ τὸν ἴδιον ἀποκτείνασα τηλικαύτης τιμῆς ἀξιοῦται." ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Φύλαρχος καὶ περὶ Μύστας ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεισκαιδεκάτῃ οὕτως· Μύστα Σε-
e λεύκου τοῦ | βασιλέως ἐρωμένη ἦν· ἥτις ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν Σελεύκου νικηθέντος καὶ μόλις ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διασωθέντος αὐτὴ μεταμφιεσαμένη τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ ῥάκια λαβοῦσα θεραπαινίδος τῆς τυχούσης συλληφθεῖσα ἀπήχθη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων· καὶ πραθεῖσα ὁμοίως ταῖς ἑαυτῆς θεραπαινίσιν ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥόδον· ἔνθα ἐκφήναισα ἑαυτὴν ἥτις ἦν περισπουδάστως ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥοδίων τῷ Σελεύκῳ διεπέμφθη.

the natural philosopher Epicurus; previously she had been Sophron's lover. When Danae realized that Laodice wanted to kill Sophron, she nodded her head at him, as a way of informing him about the plot. He understood and pretended to agree with Laodice's proposals, but asked for two days to think them over; when she agreed, he escaped by night to Ephesus. When Laodice realized what Danae had done, she had her thrown off a cliff, ignoring all her previous kindnesses. They say that when Danae recognized how dangerous her situation was, she nonetheless did not treat Laodice as worthy of a response, when Laodice tried to interrogate her. And as she was being led off to the cliff, she said that people generally are right to despise the divine powers, "given that this is the sort of thanks I get from the divinity for saving someone who was once my man, while Laodice, who killed her husband, is accorded such tremendous honor." The same Phylarchus in Book XIV (*FGrH* 81 F 30) offers the following information about Mysta: Mysta was a lover of King Seleucus.[432] When Seleucus was defeated by the Celts and barely escaped the rout alive, she took off her royal clothing and put on the rags of a common servant-woman. She was then captured and taken away with the other prisoners-of-war, and was sold, just like her own servant-women, and came to Rhodes. There she revealed her identity, and the Rhodians sent her off with considerable pomp to Seleucus.

[432] Seleucus II; the events in question took place in 238 BCE.

Δημήτριος[47] δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς Λαμπιτοῦς τῆς Σαμίας
f ἑταίρας ἐρασθεὶς ἡδέως δι' αὐτὴν καὶ | Λαμπιτὼ
προσηγορεύετο, ὥς φησι Δίυλλος· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ
Χαριτοβλέφαρος. Νικαρέτη δὲ ἡ ἑταίρα ἐρωμένη ἦν
Στεφάνου τοῦ ῥήτορος, Λυσίου δὲ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ
Μετάνειρα· ἦσαν δὲ αὗται δοῦλαι Κασίου τοῦ Ἠλείου
μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων ἑταιρῶν, Ἀντείας, Στρατόλας, Ἀρι-
στοκλείας, Φίλας, Ἰσθμιάδος, Νεαίρας. ἡ δὲ Νέαιρα
ἦν ἐρωμένη[48] Ξενοκλείδου τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ Ἱππάρχου
τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ καὶ Φρυνίωνος τοῦ Παιανιέως, ὃς ἦν
Δήμωνος μὲν υἱός, Δημοχάρους δὲ ἀδελφιδοῦς. τὴν δὲ
Νέαιραν εἶχον ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν διαιτητῶν γενο-
594 μένων φίλων Φρυνίων καὶ Στέφανος || ὁ ῥήτωρ· ὃς καὶ
τὴν τῆς Νεαίρας θυγατέρα Στρυμβήλην τὴν ὕστερον
Φανὼ κληθεῖσαν ὡς ἰδίαν θυγατέρα ἐξέδοτο Φράστο-

[47] Kaibel proposed expelling this entire paragraph from the text, on the grounds that some of the material it contains is also found in D.L. 5.76, and that the subject is somewhat different from what proceeds and follows. Neither argument is of any significance.

[48] ἦν Στρατοκλείδου ἐρωμένη A: Στρατοκλείδου del. Kaibel

[433] *PAA* 601516. [434] Presumably for the same reason. Cf. D.L. 5.76 (citing Didymus rather than Diyllus).

[435] Given the information that follows (excerpted from [D.] 59.18–19, 26, 30, 45–6), Nicarete must be *PAA* 709615, who belonged to Charisius (rather than Casius) of Elis. But here her name is almost certainly an error for "Neaera" (cf. below). Stephanus is *PAA* 834250.

[436] Cf. 13.592b–c with n.; [D.] 59.21.

Demetrius of Phaleron was in love with the Samian courtesan Lampito[433] and enjoyed being called Lampito himself on account of her, according to Diyllus (*FGrH* 73 F 4 = Demetr. Phal. fr. 37 Wehrli = fr. 5 Fortenbaugh–Schütrumpf); he was also referred to as Charitoblepharos ("Grace-Eyed").[434] The courtesan Nicarete[435] was a lover of the orator Stephanus, while Metaneira was a lover of the sophist Lysias;[436] these women were slaves who belonged to Casius of Elis along with other courtesans, including Anteia, Stratola, Aristocleia, Phila, Isthmias, and Neaera.[437] Neaera was a lover of the poet Xenocleides; of the actor Hipparchus; and of Phrynion of the deme Paeania,[438] who was the son of Demon and the nephew of Democharés.[439] Phrynion and the orator Stephanus[440] had Neaera on an alternate-day basis; their friends mediated the arrangement.[441] Stephanus married off Neaera's daughter Strymbele[442] (later known as Phano) to Phrastor

[437] Anteia is *PAA* 131297; Stratola is *PAA* 837970; Aristocleia is *PAA* 169585; Phila is *PAA* 921855; Isthmias is *PAA* 539827; and Neaera is *PAA* 702905.

[438] Xenocleides is Stephanis #1901; *PAA* 731760. Hipparchus (a highly successful tragic actor) is O'Connor #256; Stephanis #1278; *PAA* 537695. Phrynion is *PAA* 965660.

[439] Demon is *PAA* 322755; Democharés is *PAA* 322000. The genealogy is drawn straight from [D.] 59.30, except that there Democharés is correctly identified as Phyrnion's brother rather than his nephew.

[440] *PAA* 834250.

[441] Cf. [D.] 59.45–6 (where the friends and the arbitrators are different groups).

[442] *PAA* 842620.

ρι τῷ Αἰγιαλεῖ, ὥς φησι Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ Κατὰ Νεαίρας. ὃς καὶ περὶ Σινώπης τῆς ἑταίρας τάδε λέγει· Ἀρχίαν τὸν ἱεροφάντην ἐξελεγχθέντα ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ὡς ἀσεβοῦντα καὶ θύοντα παρὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰς θυσίας ἐκολάσατε· καὶ ἄλλα τε κατηγορήθη αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι Σινώπῃ τῇ ἑταίρᾳ Ἁλῴοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας τῆς ἐν
b τῇ αὐλῇ Ἐλευσῖνι | προσαγούσῃ ἱερεῖον θύσειεν, νομίμου ὄντος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἱερεῖα μὴ θύειν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνου οὔσης τῆς θυσίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἱερείας.

of the deme Aegilia,[443] on the pretence that she was his own daughter, according to Demosthenes in his *Against Neaera* ([D.] 59.50). Demosthenes also says the following about the courtesan Sinope[444] ([D.] 59.116): You punished the hierophant Archias,[445] when he was convicted in your court of acting impiously by conducting the sacrifices in a way that did not accord with your ancestral traditions. He was also accused of a variety of other crimes, including making a sacrifice at the Haloa festival for the courtesan Sinope, who brought the victim, at the hearth in the courtyard in Eleusis, despite the fact that custom did not allow any sacrifices to be made on that day, and even though the right to make sacrifices there did not belong to him, but to the priestess.

443 *PAA* 964280.
444 *PAA* 823225; cf. 13.558b, 567f.
445 *PAA* 212235.

INDEX

Abrotonon, *mother of Themistocles*, 13.576c
Achilleus, 13.560b
adespota, comic (K–A), fr. 123: 13.574c
adespota, parodic (Olson–Sens eds.), fr. 6: 13.571b
Adonis, 13.575a
Aegeus, *father of Theseus*, 13.556f
Aelian, *VH* 7.2 12.531a n.; 9.3: 12.539c n.; 11.7: 12.535d n.
Aeschines of Athens, *orator*, *Against Timarchus*, 75: 13.572c–d
Aeschylus (Radt ed.), fr. 313: 12.528c; fr. 313a: 13.573b–c
Aethra, *mother of Theseus*, 13.556f
Agamemnon, 13.556c, e, 560d
Agatharchides of Cnidus (*FGrH* 86), F 3: 12.539c; F 6: 12.527b–c; F 7: 12.550b–c; F 10: 12.550c–d; F 11: 12.550d–e; F 14: 12.528; F 16: 12.527f–8a
Agathocles of Babylon (*FGrH* 472), F 3: 12.515a
Agathon (*TrGF* 39), F 3: 12.528d; F 14: 13.584a–b
Agesilaus II, *king of Sparta*, 12.511b
Agis II, *king of Sparta*, 12.535b; 13.574d
Alcetas (*FGrH* 405), F 1: 13.591b–c
Alcibiades of Athens, 12.534b–5d; 13.574d–f
Alcidamas of Elis (Baiter–Sauppe eds.), II, ii.155: 13.592c
Alcimus (*FGrH* 560), F 3: 12.518b–c
Alexander ("the Great"), *king of Macedon*, 12.535e, 537c–40a; 13.555a, 557d–e
Alexis (K–A), fr. 20: 13.562d–e; fr. 37: 12.544e–f; fr. 70: 13.563d; fr. 93: 12.552d–e; fr. 103: 13.568a–d; fr. 148: 12.552e–f; fr. 150: 13.558e–f; fr. 178: 12.516d–f; fr. 207: 13.590b; fr. 225: 13.587b; fr. 236: 13.562f; fr. 241: 12.510a; fr. 244: 13.572b–c; fr. 247: 13.562a–c; fr. 255: 13.574b–c; fr. 266: 13.565b–c

Alexis of Samos (*FGrH* 539), F 1: 13.572f; F 2: 12.540d–e
Amasis, *king of Egypt*, 13.560d, e
Ammonius (*FGrH* 350), T 2: 13.567a
Amphicrates (*FHG*), fr. 1, iv.300: 13.576c
Amphis (K–A), fr. 1: 13.559a–b; fr. 15: 13.563c; fr. 23: 13.567f–8a; fr. 24: 13.591d
Amyntas (*FGrH* 122), F 2: 12.529e–30a; F 6: 12.514f
Anacreon of Teos (*PMG*), 360: 13.564d; 372: 12.533e; 388: 12.533f–4b
Anaxandrides (K–A), fr. 9: 13.570d–e; fr. 41: 12.553d–e
Anaxilas (K–A), fr. 18: 12.548c; fr. 21: 13.572b; fr. 22: 13.558a–e
Anaximenes of Lampsacus (*FGrH* 72), T 17a: 13.591e; F 18: 12.531d
anon. epigram., *FGE* 279: 12.543c–d; 279–82: 12.543d; 283–6: 12.543d–e; 287–8: 12.544a; 1158–9: 13.576c; 1596–9: 13.589b
Anteia, *courtesan*, 13.570e
Antigonus of Carystus (Wilamowitz ed. = Dorandi ed.), pp. 84–5 = fr. 23: 12.547d; p. 117 = fr. 33A: 13.563e; p. 118 = fr. 37: 13.565d
Antiochus VIII Grypus, 12.540a–b
Antiphanes, *comic poet* (K–A), test. 8: 13.555a; fr. 2: 13.567d; fr. 20: 12.552f; fr. 23: 13.586a; fr. 27.12: 13.586a; fr. 31: 12.553b; fr. 35: 12.544f–5a; fr. 43: 13.586a; fr. 91: 12.526d; fr. 101: 12.553c–d; fr. 105: 12.553d; fr. 109: 13.586a; fr. 114: 13.586a; fr. 120.3–4: 13.565f; fr. 152: 12.553b–c; fr. 168: 13.586a; fr. 210: 13.572a; fr. 220: 13.559d
Antiphanes Jun. (*FGrH* 349), T 2: 13.567a; F 1: 13.586b; F 2a: 13.587b
Antiphon (Blass–Thalheim eds.), fr. 67: 12.525b
Antisthenes of Athens (*SSR* V), A 198: 12.534c–f; (Decleva Caizzi = *SSR* V A), fr. 35 = A 143: 13.589e–f; fr. 110 = 127: 12.513a
Aphrodite, 12.510b–c; 13.566d, 573c–4b, 575a; *Hetaira* 13.571c; *Kallipugos* 12.554c–e
Apollodorus of Athens, *delivered Against Neaera*, 13.573b
Apollodorus of Athens, *scholar at Alexandria* (*FGrH* 244), T 17: 13.567a; F 112: 13.571c; F 208: 13.583d; F 209: 13.586a; F 210: 13.586b; F 212: 13.591c
Apollonius of Rhodes (Powell ed.), 3.1: 13.555b
Aprias, *king of Egypt*, 13.560e
Archelaus (*SH*), 131: 12.554d–e

Archidamus III, *king of Sparta*, 12.536c–d; 13.566a
Archilochus of Paros (West^2 ed.), fr. 20: 12.525c; fr. 22: 12.523d
Archytas of Tarentum (Huffmann ed.), A8: 12.519b
Ares, 12.510c, 511b–c
Argonauts, 13.572d
Ariadne, 13.557a
Aristides, *painter*, 13.567b
Aristides "the Just" of Athens, 12.511c
Aristippus, *student of Socrates* (*SSR* IV), A 161: 13.565d; (Mannebach ed.), fr. 40B: 12.544d; fr. 58B: 12.544d; (SSR IV = Mannebach ed.), A 20 = fr. 108: 12.544d; A 31 = fr. 39C: 12.544d; A 53 = fr. 78: 12.544b–c; A 91 = fr. 60: 13.588c; A 92 = fr. 61: 13.588e; A 174 = frr. 157, 207: 12.544a; A 203 = fr. 195: 12.546d–e
Aristobulus of Cassandreia (*FGrH* 139), F 9a: 12.530b–c; F 18: 12.513f
Aristodemus (*FHG*), fr. 9, iii.310: 13.585a–d
Aristogeiton (Baiter–Sauppe eds.), IV, ii.310: 13.591e
Ariston of Ceos (Wehrli ed.), fr. 17: 13.564a; fr. 18: 13.563f
Aristophanes of Athens, *comic poet* (K–A), *Ach.* 524–9: 13.570a–b; *Av.* 1378: 12.551d; *Pl.* 179: 13.592d; fr. 156: 12.551a–c; fr. 179: 13.592c; fr. 225.1–3: 12.527c; fr. 556: 12.525a–b
Aristophanes of Byzantium (*FGrH* 347= Slater ed.), T 1 = fr. 364A: 13.567a; T 2 = fr. 364b: 13.583d; fr. 365: 13.586f
Aristophon (K–A), fr. 6: 13.559c–d; fr. 8: 12.552e; fr. 11: 13.563b–c
Aristotle, 13.566e; (Düring ed.), test. 51b: 12.530d; (Gigon ed.), fr. 42: 13.556d; fr. 43: 13.564b; fr. 71.2: 13.556a; fr. 560: 13.576a; fr. 565.1: 12.523e–f; fr. 600.1: 12.520c–d; fr. 601: 12.523c–d; *Marvels* 838^{a}15–21: 12.541a
Aristoxenus of Tarentum (Wehrli ed.), fr. 50: 12.545a; fr. 57: 13.556a
Artemon of Cassandreia (*FHG*), fr. 9, iv.342: 12.515d–e
Asclepiades, *son of Areius?* (*FGrH* 157), F 1 = Dem. Phal. fr. 3 (Fortenbaugh–Schütrumpf eds.): 13.567d
Asclepiades of Samos (*AP* = *HE* = 'Plato' *FGE*), 7.217 = 1002–5 = 608–11: 13.589c–d
Ashurbanipal. See *Sardanapallus*
Asius (Bernabé ed.), fr. 13: 12.525e–f
Aspasia of Miletus, 12.533c–d; 13.569f–70a
Athamas, 13.560d
Athena, 12.533e; 13.561e

Athenodorus (*FGrH* 746), F 3: 12.519b
Atossa, 12.522b
Axiochus, *uncle of Alcibiades*, 13.574e

Bion (*FGrH* 668), F 2: 13.566c
Bion of Borysthenes (Kindstrand ed.), T 1: 13.591f–2a

Callias, *comic poet* (K–A), fr. 8: 12.524f; fr. *40: 13.577c
Callias of Syracuse (*FGrH* 564), F 2: 12.542a
Callicrates (K–A), fr. 1: 13.586a
Callimachus of Cyrene (Pfeiffer ed.), fr. 477: 13.571a–b
Callinus (West^2 ed.), fr. 3: 12.525c
Callisthenes (*FGrH* 124), F 1: 13.560b–c; F 43: 13.556a
Callistratus (*FGrH* 348), F 1: 13.591d
Cambyses of Persia, 13.560d–f
Carcinus (*TrGF* 70), F 2: 13.559f; F 3: 13.559f
Carystius of Pergamum (*FHG*), fr. 7, iv.357–8: 12.548e; fr. 10, iv.358: 12.542e; fr. 12, iv.358: 13.577b
Cassandra, 13.556c
Castorion of Soli (*PMG*), 845: 12.542e
Cecrops, *king of Athens*, 13.555d
Cephalus (Baiter–Sauppe eds.), fr. 2, ii.217: 13.592c
Cephisodorus (K–A), fr. 3.1–3: 12.553a
Cephisodorus of Thebes (*FGrH* 112), F 2: 12.548e–f
Cercidas of Megalopolis (Powell ed.), fr. 14, p. 213: 12.554d
Chaeremon (*TrGF* 71), F 16: 13.562e
Chamaeleon of Heraclea Pontica (Wehrli ed.), fr. 31: 13.573c; fr. 36: 12.533e–f
Chares of Mitylene (*FGrH* 125), F 2: 12.514e; F 4: 12.538b–c; F 5: 13.575a; F 11: 12.513f
Charon of Lampsacus (*FGrH* 262), F 1: 12.520d–1a
Chrysippus of Soli (*SVF*), xxviii fr. 2, iii.198: 13.565a–b
Cimon of Athens, 12.533a
Clearchus of Soli (Wehrli ed.), fr. 17: 12.533e; fr. 22: 13.564a; fr. 25: 12.553e–4b; fr. 29: 13.573a; fr. 30: 13.589d; fr. 31: 13.590c; fr. 42: 12.543c; fr. 43a: 12.515e–16c; fr. 44: 12.540e–1a; fr. 45: 12.524b–c; fr. 46: 12.524c–e; fr. 47: 12.541c–e; fr. 48: 12.522d–3c; fr. 49: 12.514d; fr. 50: 12.539b; fr. 51a: 12.514d–e; fr. 51d: 12.529d–e; fr. 53: 12.530c; fr. 59: 12.518c; fr. 60: 12.548b; fr. 62: 12.548d; fr. 71: 13.555c–d
Cleitarchus of Alexandria (*FGrH* 137), F 2: 12.530a; F 11: 13.576d–e; F 30: 13.586c–d

Clytemnestra, 13.556c
Clytus (*FGrH* 490), F 2: 12.540c–d
Commodus, *Roman emperor*, 12.537f
Cottina, *courtesan*, 13.574c
Cotys, *king of Thrace*, 12.531e–2a
Crates, *Cynic philosopher* (*SSR* V), H 28: 13.591b
Cratinus (K–A), fr. 257: 12.553e; fr. 351: 13.566e
Critias (88 D–K), B 31: 12.527a–b
Cronus, 12.510c
Ctesias of Cnidus (*FGrH* 688), F 1n: 12.528e–9a; F 1q: 12.529a; F 6: 12.530d; F 13a: 13.560d–e
Cynulcus, *Cynic deipnosophist*, 13.566e, 571a, c, 573b
Cyrus, *king of Persia*, 13.560f

Damasandra, *courtesan and mother of younger Laïs*, 13.574e
Darius III of Persia, 13.557b
Dawn, 13.566d
Delphic Oracle (Fontenrose ed.), Q122: 12.520a–b
Demeter, 13.566d
Demetrius of Byzantium (*FHG*), ii.624: 12.548d–e
Demetrius of Phaleron, 12.542c–f; (Fortenbaugh–Schütrumpf eds.), fr. 3: 13.567d; (*FGrH* 228 = Wehrli ed. = Fortenbaugh–Schütrumpf eds.), F 45b = fr. 94 = fr. 105: 13.556a
Demetrius Poliorcetes, 12.535f
Democedes, *physician*, 12.522a–c
Democritus of Ephesus (*FGrH* 267), F 1: 12.525c–d
Demosthenes, 22.56: 13.585f; (Baiter–Sauppe eds.), IV, ii.251: 13.592e
[Demosthenes], 59.19: 13.586e–f; 59.21: 13.592b–c; 59.50: 13.594a; 59.116: 13.594a; 59.122: 13.573b
Dicaearchus of Messene (Wehrli ed.), fr. 64: 13.557b
Didyma Oracle (Fontenrose ed.), 3: 12.524b
Dinon of Colophon (*FGrH* 690), F 11: 13.560e–f; F 25a: 12.514a; F 26: 12.514a; F 27: 13.556b
Diocles, *comic poet* (K–A), test. ii: 13.567c
Diocles of Carystus (van der Eijk ed.), fr. dub. 234: 12.516c
Diodorus (*FGrH* 372), F 36: 13.591e
Diodorus Siculus, 11.25.4: 12.541f
Diogenes of Babylon (*SVF*), iii.221, fr. 53: 12.526c–d
Diogenes of Sinope (*SSR*), V B 213: 13.588c; V B 404: 13.565c
Dionysius I, *tyrant of Syracuse*, 12.535e
Dionysius Scytobrachion (*FGrH*

32 = Rusten ed.), T 6 = test. 4: 12.515d–e
Dionysus *Choöpotês*, 12.533e
Diphilus (K–A), test. 7: 13.583e–f
Diyllus (*FGrH* 73 = Demetr. Phal. Wehrli ed. = Fortenbaugh–Schütrumpf eds.), F 4 = fr. 37 = fr. 5: 13.593e–f
Duris of Samos (*FGrH* 76), F 2: 13.560b; F 10: 12.542c; F 14: 12.535e–6a; F 15: 12.546c; F 19: 12.541–2a; F 35: 12.532f; F 42: 12.529a; F 52: 13.560f; F 60: 12.525e; F 70: 12.535d n.

Empedocles of Agrigentum (Diels–Krantz eds.), B 128.1–7: 12.510c
Ephippus, *comic poet* (K–A), fr. 6: 13.571e–f; fr. 20: 13.572c fr. 23: 13.571b
Ephippus of Olynthus (*FGrH* 126), F 4: 12.537d; F 5: 12.537e–8b
Ephorus of Aeolian Cumae (*FGrH* 70), F 180: 12.515e; F 183: 12.523e
Epicrates (K–A), fr. 2: 13.570b; fr. 3: 13.570b–d
Epicurus of Athens (Usener ed.), fr. 67, p. 120: 12.546e; fr. 70, p. 123: 12.546f; fr. 117, p. 137: 13.588a; fr. 121, pp. 138–9: 13.588b; fr. 409, p. 278: 12.546f; fr. 413, p. 280: 12.546e; fr. 512, p. 315: 12.547a
Erasistratus (Garofalo ed.), fr. 290: 12.516c
Erato, *Muse*, 13.555b
Eratosthenes of Cyrene (Bernhardy ed.), p. 193: 13.588a
Eros, 12.534e
Erxias (*FGrH* 449), F 1: 13.561e–2a
Eualces (*FGrH* 418), F 2: 13.573a
Eubulus (K–A), test. ii: 13.567c; fr. 40: 13.562c–d; fr. 41: 13.571f–2a; fr. 53: 13.567c; fr. 67: 13.568f–9a; fr. 82: 13.568e–f; fr. 89: 12.553b; fr. 97: 13.557f–8a; fr. 107: 12.553a; fr. 113: 13.559b–c; fr. 114: 12.519a
Eumachus of Neapolis (*FGrH* 178), F 1: 13.576
Eunicus (K–A), Anteia test. ii: 13.567c
Eupolis (K–A), fr. 171: 12.535a–b
Euripides, 13.582c–d; test. 107a: 13.557e; *Med.* 1385: 13.585e; *Hipp.* 317: 12.530d; *IA* 548–51: 13.562e–f; *Ba.* 317–18: 12.544e; (Kannicht ed.), fr. 15.2: 13.566b; fr. 136: 13.561b–c; fr. 486(a): 12.546b; fr. 496: 12.522d; fr. 897: 13.561a–b
Euxenus of Phocaea, 13.576a–b

Gnathaena, *courtesan*, 13.579e–81a, 583a, e, 584f–5b
Gnathaenion, *courtesan, daughter of Gnathaena*, 13.581a–2c
Gorgias of Athens (*FGrH* 351), T 1: 13.567a; T 2: 13.583e
Gorgias of Leontini (82 D–K), A 11: 12.548c–d
Gyges, *king of Lydia*, 13.573a

Hadrian, *Roman emperor*, 13.574f
Hannibal of Carthage, 12.528b–c
Hegesander of Delphi (*FHG* = *SSR* IV), fr. 18, iv.417 = A 36: 12.544c, d; (*FHG*), fr. 25, iv.418: 13.572d–e; fr. 26, iv.418: 13.564a; fr. 27, iv.418–19: 13.592b; fr. 28, iv.419: 13.584e–5a
Hegesippus of Tarentum, 12.516d
Helen of Sparta and Troy, 13.556d, 557a, 560b, 566b
Hephaestus, 12.511b–c
Hera, 12.521e, 525e
Heracleides, *comic poet* (K–A), fr. 1: 12.532e
Heracleides of Cumae (*FGrH* 689), F 1: 12.514b–c; F 4: 12.517b
Heracleides of Lembos (*FHG*), fr. 2, iii.168: 13.566a; fr. 4, iii.168–9: 13.578a–b
Heracleides of Pontus (Wehrli ed. = Schütrumpf ed. = Antisth. Socr. *SSR* V), fr. 49 = fr. 42: 12.521e–f; fr. 50 = fr. 23: 12.523f–4a; fr. 55 = fr. 39: 12.512a–c; fr. 56 = fr. 40: 12.554e–f; fr. 57 = fr. 41: 12.526a; fr. 58 = fr. 42: 12.536f–7c; fr. 59 = fr. 43: 12.536a; fr. 61 = fr. 44: 12.552f–3a
Heracles, 12.510c, 512e–f, 537f; 13.556e–f, 560c, 561d
Hermeias of Curium (Powell ed.), p. 237: 13.563d–e
Hermes, 13.561d
Hermippus, *comic poet* (K–A), fr. 36: 12.551a; fr. 57: 12.524f–5a; fr. 65: 13.592d
Hermippus of Smyrna (Wehrli ed.), fr. 46: 13.589c; fr. 68a: 13.590d–f; fr. 87: 13.555b–c
Herodicus the Cratetean (Düring ed.), fr. IV.1, p. 125: 13.586a; IV.2, p. 126: 13.591c–d
Herodorus of Heracleia (*FGrH* 31), F 20: 13.556f
Herodotus of Halicarnassus, 1.17.1: 12.517a–b; 6.127.1: 12.541b–c
[Herodotus] *Life of Homer* (Allen ed.), 417–20, vol. 5 p. 211: 13.592a–b n.
Hesiod (Merkelbach–West eds.), fr. 147: 13.557a–b
Hieron I, *tyrant of Syracuse*, 12.512d
Hieronymus of Rhodes (Wehrli ed.), fr. 36: 13.557e; fr. 44: 13.556a–b

Hippodameia, *wife of Pelops*, 13.564c
Hipponax of Ephesus (Degani ed.), test. 19: 12.552c–d
Hipponicus I of Athens, *son of Callias I*, 12.537a n.
Hipponicus II of Athens, *son of Callias II*, 12.537b n.
Homartes, *king of Marathoi and father of Odatis*, 13.575b–f
Homer *Il.* 1.225: 12.546c; 2.226–8: 13.556e; 3.156–8: 13.566b; 3.169–70: 13.566c; 4.1–4: 12.513d; 5.83: 12.540a; 6.138: 12.512d; 9.607: 13.590b; 10.401: 13.563f; 14.292–360: 12.510b n.; 16.419: 12.522d; 20.235: 13.566d; 24.496–7: 13.556c; *Od.* 4.178–9: 12.513e; 8.248–9: 12.513c, 531b; 8.266–366: 12.510b n.; 8.329–32: 12.510b–c; 9.5–8: 12.512d; 9.5–11: 12.513b, e; 9.162 = 557: 12.513e; 11.419–20: 12.546d; *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 5–8: 12.554b
Hyperides of Athens (Jensen ed.), fr. 13: 13.587c; fr. 24: 13.586a; fr. 121: 13.586b; fr. 138: 13.566f; fr. 141: 13.587a; fr. 142: 13.587c; fr. 171: 13.590d; p. 57: 12.552d;
Hyperochus (*FGrH* 576), F 1: 12.528d–e
Hystaspes, *king of Media*, 13.575a

Ibycus of Rhegium (*PMG*), 288: 13.564f
Idomeneus (*FGrH* 338), F 1: 12.533d–e; F 3: 12.532f; F 4a: 13.576c; F 12: 13.592f–3a; F 14a: 13.590d
Isocrates of Athens, *orator, Areopagitus* 49: 13.566f
Istrus of Cyrene (*FGrH* 334), F 10: 13.557a

Jason, *Argonaut*, 13.556c, 560d, 572d

Lagisce, *courtesan*, 13.570e
Laïs of Corinth, *courtesan*, 12.535c; 13.570b–e
Lamia of Athens, *courtesan*, 13.576c, 577c–e
Larensius, *host of the dinner-party*, 13.558e
Leaina, *courtesan*, 13.577e–f
Leon of Byzantium (*FGrH* 132), F 1: 12.550e–f
Leonides, *deipnosophist*, 13.558e
Licymnius of Chios, 13.564c
Lyceas of Naucratis (*FGrH* 613), F 1: 13.560f
Lycon, *Peripatetic philosopher* (Wehrli ed.), fr. 7: 12.547d–f
Lycophron of Chalcis (Strecker ed.), fr. 13: 13.555a
Lycophronides (*PMG*), 843: 13.564a–b
Lycurgus of Athens (Baiter–Sauppe eds.), *Against Leocrates* 17: 13.586f–7a

Lynceus of Samos (Dalby ed.), fr. 23: 13.583e–f; fr. 24: 13.584b–d
Lysander of Sparta, 12.535d; 13.555c
Lysias (Carey ed.), fr. 8: 12.534f–5a, 13.574e; fr. 195: 12.551d–2b; fr. 208: 13.586e; 592e; fr. 220: 13.586f; fr. 299: 13.586f, 592c; fr. 456: 13.592b

Macho of Sicyon (Gow ed.), 168–73: 13.577d; 174–87: 13.577e–f; 188–217: 13.578b–e; 218–57: 13.578f–9d; 258–332: 13.579e–81a; 333–401: 13.581a–2c; 402–62: 13.582c–3d
Mania, *courtesan*, 13.578b–9d
Medea, 13.556c, f
Medontis of Abydus, 13.574e
Megacleides (*FHG*), iv.443–4: 12.512e–13b
Melanthius (*TrGF* 23), T 7b: 12.549a
Menander (K–A), fr. 25: 12.549c–d; fr. 64: 13.559d–e; fr. 119: 13.559e–f; fr. 266: 12.552e; fr. 287: 13.571d–e; fr. 351.10–11: 12.517a; fr. 414: 13.587b; (Sandbach ed.), *Kith.* fr. 5: 12.511a; *Kol.* fr. 4: 13.587e
Menelaus, 13.556c
Metagenes (K–A), fr. 4: 13.571b
Metrodorus of Lampsacus (Körte ed.), fr. 39: 12.546f
Metrodorus of Scepsis (*FGrH* 184), F 6: 12.552c–d
Midas, 12.516b
Mnaseas (*FHG* = Cappelletto ed.), fr. 14, iii.152 = fr. 5: 12.530c
Muses, 13.571b
Myrtilus, *deipnosophist*, 13.563d, 570e, 571a, 587f, 590a
Myrto, *daughter of Aristeides, purported wife of Socrates*, 13.555d

Nannion, *courtesan*, 13.576c
Nannus, *king of Massilia*, 13.576a–b
Neanthes of Cyzicus (*FGrH* 84), F 9: 13.572e
Nestor, 13.556d
Nicaenetus of Samos or Abdyra (Powell ed.), fr. 2, p. 2: 13.590b
Nicander of Colophon (*FGrH* 271), F 9: 13.569d
Nicias of Nicaea (*FHG*), iv.464: 13.592a
Nicoboule (*FGrH* 127), F 2: 12.537d
Nicocles of Salamis, 12.531c
Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrH* 90), F 77a: 12.543a; F 90: 13.593a–b
Nicophanes, *painter*, 13.567b
Nicostratus (K–A), fr. 16.1–2: 12.517a; fr. 20: 13.587d–e
Ninus, 12.528e–f, 530e–1a
Nymphis of Heracleia (*FGrH*

432), F 9: 12.536a–b; F 10: 12.549a–c
Nymphodorus of Syracuse (*FGrH* 572), F 1: 13.588e

Ocimon, *courtesan*, 13.570e
Odatis, *daughter of Homartes and most beautiful woman in Asia*, 13.575a–f
Olympias, *wife of Philip II of Macedon*, 13.557c–d, 560f
Omphale, *queen of Lydia*, 12.515f–16c

Pamphilus of Alexandria (Schmidt ed.), fr. XXIX: 13.572e
Panaetius of Rhodes (van Straten ed.), fr. 133: 13.556b
Paris, 12.510c
Pausanias, *king of Sparta*, 12.535e
Pausias, *painter*, 13.567b
Pelops, 13.564c
Pericles of Athens, 12.533c–d; 13.572f, 589d–f
Persuasion, 13.574a
Petta, *daughter of Nannus, renamed Aristoxene*, 13.576b
Pharnabazus, *Persian satrap*, 12.535e; 13.570c, 574f
Pherecrates (K–A), test. ii: 13.567c; fr. 164: 12.535b
Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3), F 153: 13.557b
Philemon of Syracuse (K–A), fr. 3: 13.569d–e; fr. 49: 13.590a; fr. 63: 12.516f
Philetaerus (K–A), fr. 5: 13.559a; fr. 6: 13.570e–f; fr. 8: 13.572d; fr. 9: 13.587e–f
Philetas of Cos (Sbardella ed. = Spanoudakis ed. = adesp. com. fr.), test. 8 = test. 22a = fr. *122: 12.552b
Philip II, *king of Macedon*, 13.557b–e, 560c
Philistion of Locris (Wellmann ed.), fr. 13: 12.516c
Philoxenus of Cythera (*PMG*), 821: 13.564e
Phoenix, *son of Amyntor*, 13.556c, d
Phoenix of Colophon (Powell ed.), fr. 1, pp. 231–2: 12.530e–1a
Phormisius, *Athenian politician*, 13.570f
Phryne, *courtesan*, 13.590d–1f
Phrynicus (*TrGF* 3), F 13: 13.564e
Phylarchus of Athens or Naucratis (*FGrH* 81), F 20: 12.536d; F 23: 12.528c; F 24: 13.593b–d; F 30: 13.593d–e; F 40: 12.536d–e; F 41: 12.539c–40a; F 45: 12.521a–e; F 66: 12.526a
Pindar, *O.* 13.1–2: 13.573f; (Maehler ed.), fr. 43: 12.513c–d; fr. 122.1–9: 13.574a; fr. 122.11–15: 13.574b; fr. 122.16: 13.574b; fr. 122.17–20: 13.573f–4a; fr. 123.3–6: 13.564d–e; fr. 126: 12.512d; fr. 127.1–2: 13.561b

Pisistratus of Athens, 12.532f–3a, 533c
Plato, *Phlb.* 65c–d: 12.511d–e; *R.* 404d: 12.527d–e, 559a–c: 12.511e–12a; *Epist. VII* 326b–c: 12.527c–d
Plutarch of Alexandria, *deipnosophist*, 13.562a
Polemon of Ilium (Preller ed.), fr. 3: 13.587c; fr. 14: 13.577c; fr. 16: 13.567b; fr. 18: 13.574c–d; fr. 44: 13.588c, 589a; fr. 84: 12.552b–c; fr. 85: 12.541b
Polybius of Megalopolis, 7.1.1–3: 12.528a–c; 13.1.1: 12.527b; 14.11.2–5: 13.576f
Polycleitus of Larisa (*FGrH* 128), F 1: 12.539a–b
Polycrates, *tyrant of Samos*, 12.522b, 540c–1a
Pontianus of Nicomedia, *deipnosophist*, 13.561c
Poseidon, 12.510c
Posidippus (K–A), fr. 13: 13.591e–f
Posidonius of Apamea (*FGrH* 87 = Edelstein–Kidd eds.), T 10a = test. 7: 12.549d–e; F 6 = fr. 58: 12.549e; F 7 = fr. 59: 12.542a–b; F 9a = fr. 61a: 12.540b–c; F 10 = fr. 62a: 12.527e–f; F 21a = fr. 72a: 12.540a–b; F 26 = fr. 77: 12.550b
Possis of Magnesia (*FGrH* 480), F 1: 12.533d–e
Praxiteles, *sculptor*, 13.591a
Priam, *king of Troy*, 13.556b–c, 566b
Proto, *son of Euxenus and Petta/Aristoxene*, 13.576b
Proverbs (Strömberg ed.), p. 99: 12.525e
Ptolemy, *son of Agesarchus* (*FGrH* 161), F 4: 13.577f–8a
Ptolemy III Euergetes (*FGrH* 234), F 4: 13.576e; F 8: 12.518f–19a; F 9: 12.549e–50a
Pythaenetus (*FGrH* 299), F 3: 13.589f
Python of Catana (*TrGF* 91), F 1.14–18: 13.586d

Rutilius (*FHG*), fr. 6, iii.200: 12.543a–b

Sannyrio (K–A), fr. 2: 12.551c
Sappho (Voigt ed.), fr. 122: 12.554b; fr. 138: 13.564d; fr. 142: 13.571d; fr. 160: 13.571d
Sardanapallus (Ashurbanipal), 12.511c, 528f–30c
Satyra, *courtesan*, 13.576c
Satyrus of Callatis (*FHG* = Schorn ed.), fr. 1, iii.160 = fr. 20: 12.534b; fr. 2, iii.160 = fr. 21: 12.541c; fr. 5, iii.161 = fr. 25: 13.557b–c; fr. 15, iii.163 = fr. 17b: 13.556a; fr. 19, iii.164 = fr. 19: 13.584a
Scione, *courtesan*, 13.576c
Silenus of Calacte (*FGrH* 175), F 4: 12.542a
Simonides of Ceos (*PMG*), 584:

12.512c–d; (*FGE*) 732–5: 13.573d–e; 835–8: 12.536b
[Simonides] (*APl.* = *FGE*), 204 = 910–13: 13.591a
Sleep, 13.564c–d
Smindyrides of Sybaris, 12.511c
Socrates of Athens, 13.555d–6b, 566d
Sophocles, *Ant.* 1165–71: 12.547c; (Radt ed.), test. 58a: 13.557e; test. 77: 13.592a; test. 80e: 12.510b n.; fr. 12.1–2: 12.546b; fr. **185: 13.584d; fr. 307: 12.513d; fr. *474: 13.564b–c; fr. 502: 13.587a–b; fr. 765: 13.592b
Sosicrates of Phanagoreia (*SH*), 732: 13.590b
Sosicrates of Rhodes (*FGrH* 461), F 7: 13.561f
Speusippus (Tarán ed.), test. 35: 12.547f; test. 39b: 12.546d
Stesichorus of Himera (*PMG*), 229: 12.512f
Stesimbrotus of Thasos (*FGrH* 107), T 2: 13.589d–e; F 10a: 13.589e
Stilpo (Döring ed. = *SSR* II), fr. 157 = O 18: 13.584a
Strattis (K–A), fr. 3.1–3: 13.592d; fr. 17: 12.551d; fr. 27: 13.589a; fr. 57: 12.551c

Teleclides (K–A), fr. 25: 12.553e
Themistocles of Athens, 12.533d–e, 535e; 13.576b–c
Theodorus of Samos, *artisan*, 12.515a
Theodote of Athens, *courtesan*, 13.574e
Theognis of Megara (West^2 ed.), 215: 12.513d; 457–60: 13.560a
Theolyte, *courtesan*, 13.570e
Theophilus (K–A), fr. 6: 13.560a; fr. 11: 13.587f; fr. 12: 13.563a–b
Theophrastus of Eresus (Fortenbaugh ed.), fr. 489: 13.567a; fr. 549: 12.526d; fr. 551: 12.511c; fr. 552B: 12.543f; fr. 559: 13.562e; fr. 561: 13.567b
Theopompus of Chios (*FGrH* 115), F 20: 12.543b; F 31: 12.531e; F 49: 12.527a; F 62: 12.526d–f; F 89: 12.533a–c; F 105: 12.532a–b; F 114: 12.526c, 531a; F 132: 12.526f–7a; F 135: 12.533a; F 192: 12.536b–c; F 204: 12.517d–18b; F 213: 12.532b–d; F 232: 12.536c; F 249: 12.532d; F 254a: 13.586c; F 285: 13.573c
Thersites, 13.556e
Theseus, 13.557a–b, 560c–d
Timaeus of Taureomenium (*FGrH* 566), F 1b: 12.517d; F 9: 12.541c; F 10: 13.573c; F 24: 13.589a; F 44: 12.522a–c; F 45: 12.522c–d; F 48: 12.518d; F 49: 12.518e–f; F 50: 12.519b–20c; F 51: 12.523c; F 52: 12.523d–e
Timo of Phlius (*SH*), 825.2: 13.588b

Timocles (K–A), fr. 24: 13.570f–1a; fr. 25: 13.567e; fr. 27: 13.567e–f
Timocrates, *Athenaeus' interlocutor*, 12.550f–1a; 13.555a
Timotheus of Thebes, *pipe-player*, 13.565a
Tithonus, 12.548f

Ulpian, *deipnosophist and symposiarch*, 13.571a, 590a

Virtue, 12.510c

Xanthippe of Athens, *wife of Socrates*, 13.555d
Xanthus, *lyric poet* (*PMG*), 699: 12.512f
Xanthus of Lydia (*FGrH* 765), T 5: 12.515d; F 4a: 12.515e
Xenarchus (K–A), fr. 4: 13.569a–d; fr. 14: 13.559a
Xenocrates of Chalcedon (Isnardi Parente ed.), test. 68: 12.530d
Xenophanes (West^2 ed.), fr. 3: 12.526a–b
Xenophon of Athens, *Cyr.* 8.8.15–17: 12.515a–c; 8.8.19–20: 12.515c–d; *Mem.* 2.1.21–34: 12.510c, 544d; 3.11.1: 13.588d
Xenophon of Corinth, *athlete*, 13.573e–f
Xerxes, *king of Persia*, 13.573c

Zariadres, *Persian satrap*, 13.575a–f
Zeno of Citium (*SVF*), fr. 242, i.57–8: 13.565d; fr. 247, i.58–9: 13.563e; fr. 263, i.61: 13.561c–d
Zeus, 12.510c, 511b; 13.566d; *Hetaireios*: 13.572e; *Kataibatês*: 12.522f

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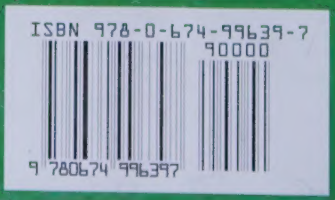
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